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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Crimean Conference

WHEN THE Teheran Conference was announced in 1943, a great many periodicals praised the results to the skies, only to be embarrassed a little later when they woke up to the realization that they did not know what those results had been, beyond the fact that the session didn't break up in a fight. With the Crimean Conference the situation is different. We know a good deal about what was achieved there, and it is of great importance, though probably not so much as the hysterical headlines would lead you to believe. The announced results can readily be divided into three categories: those clearly good, those that are dubious, and those that are bad.

Among the good results is the negative one that the Big Three continue to work together and to solve their problems somehow or other; any other result would have been tragic indeed. In addition, we have moved a step closer to realization of Dumbarton Oaks. France is recognized again as a great power. There is an indirect promise that we shall not have a repetition of what Britain did in Greece or Russia did in Lublin. The intention to punish war criminals is again reaffirmed. The problem of Yugoslavia appears to be settled. Russia gets the territory east of the Curzon Line, to which she is entitled through history, ethnography and common sense. And finally, the three leading Allies will be kept in closer contact through conferences of their foreign secretaries about every four months.

A dubious matter, largely because we do not know just what is intended, is the treatment of Germany after surrender, and in particular the questions of the future of industry, and of reparations. Among the things which seem definitely undesirable is the suggestion that, at the peace conference, Poland shall be given large amounts of German territory, and the fact that nothing substantial has been accomplished to prevent the division of Europe into British and Russian spheres of influence, of the sort which have preceded nearly every war for several hundred years.

On the whole, the results at Yalta represent a substantial victory for Stalin. He gets his way, without serious modification, in regard to Poland and in regard to reparations. If anything is to be done regarding the Balkans that he does not like, the recorded results do not show it. Whatever may have been said or left unsaid at Yalta, we take it for granted that Russia will enter the war against Japan. She will do so, not as a favor to the Western Allies, but because she cannot afford to be left out of the peace conference which will plan the future of the Orient for generations to come.

Reparations. – In regard to reparations, the Allies confront an old, familiar dilemma. It is almost impossible to transfer reparations in cash across frontiers. Capitalist countries don't want reparations in kind, which compete with the products of their own industry. Even Soviet Russia might well hesitate to accept large amounts of reparations in kind, the production of which might build up flourishing industries in a defeated enemy. Labor battalions could be constituted

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and used to a limited extent in Western Europe and an unlimited extent in Russia. It seems clear, however, that any such plan should be subject to careful safeguards to avoid injustice to individuals, who should be paid reasonable wages and subjected to service only for a reasonable length of time. Otherwise, the innocent would be made to suffer for the guilty.

In regard to the treatment of Germany in general, there are three principles which should be followed beyond everything else. 1. Don't do anything that will make another war more likely. 2. Don't do anything which runs counter to the accepted moral standards of the victorious countries. 3. Don't institute plans which require for their completion a continuance of existing alliances over a period of many years, when all human history shows that such continuance is most unlikely. The announced plans for Germany certainly fall far below these principles.

Dumbarton Oaks. – In the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, a stumbling block came over the question of voting procedure in the Council. Russia insisted that any of the great powers charged with aggression should have the right of veto. At Yalta it was announced that a formula had been found for resolving this difficulty, a formula which will be made public after it has been communicated to France and China. It is good news that this difficulty has been circumvented. We still feel, however, that this matter was never so important as many people assumed. If we ever get to the point where a country as important as Russia is formally charged with aggression, we shall in all probability have a war no matter what sort of league is in existence. It is altogether probable that if the new league is created, twenty years from now its most important aspect will be the social and economic committee of the Assembly, whose job it is to "prevent wars before they happen"—by solving those international problems which grow into conflict.

The United Nations Conference. – Political observers are pointing out that April 25, the date on which the United Nations Conference will meet in San Francisco, is also the last day on which Russia can denounce her neutrality pact with Japan. We do not know whether the date was chosen with this in mind. We do know, however, that on that conference will fall the tremendous responsibility of implementing the Dumbarton Oaks plan and setting the world on the beginning of the path toward peace.

Are We Any Closer to Permanent Peace? – Yes, a little, in so far as we have moved a step nearer to a new world organization. True, the plans for the future of Germany seem to carry within themselves the seeds of a third world war, for the reasons stated above. But we are no worse off in this respect after Yalta than we were before. The hopeful fact here is that plans are not permanent. They always seem so at the moment they are announced, but this is a delusion. We can look back over the 27 years since the end of the last war and see one "permanent" scheme for the future of Europe after another, each of which has dissolved in the steady downpour of continuing events. The Yalta conference has made some definite progress, for which we can be grateful. Its weaknesses are not irrevocable. All over the world, people are demanding peace, security and freedom, and in that sense, time is on the side of the angels. It remains for us to do our part by fighting, through every means at our command, for a decent peace and a decent world after the peace.

Military Review

IN ASSESSING the progress of the Allied armies against Germany, it is a good idea to keep in mind the gap between the often considerable actual achievement and the events reported through headquarters censorships that insist on making everything look good to a press which wishes to sell more papers by making everything look spectacular. This gap attained comic proportions during the week of February 5-12, when the New York papers, imitated by at least those of Chicago and Philadelphia, broke through the Siegfried Line on every day of the week. The map did not change very much, and on Saturday, February 10, an inconspicuous dispatch from an AP man who had evidently been talking to somebody at Third Army Headquarters reported that General Patton's forces had taken some 700 pillboxes in the current offensive, but that 3,000 more remained in German hands on that part of the front.

Actually, the famous line has no more been penetrated than it was last August, when the announcement was first made. The original defenses were scattered all through the rough country on the west bank of the Rhine and probably along the east bank also, from Karlsruhe to the Swiss border. Since it became evident last fall that they would be attacked, the Germans have had plenty of time to intensify and deepen the defense belt, and they have had no shortage of the means required, which are merely concrete and labor. Their general method has been, as it was in Italy, to set up far more pillboxes and fake cottages than they have troops to occupy, the defending soldiers remaining mobile and using whatever forts are required by the local tactical situation.

But in spite of the fact that there are still many miles of Siegfried defenses to be pierced before General Eisenhower can bring his campaign into the open-warfare stage of the Russians, a great deal has been done by our arms. The contrast with last year's Cassino operation is marked. This time the pillboxes are being taken, the troops are going forward. The American army has, as was usually the case in the historical past,

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learned to fight a war while it was going on. They are getting prisoners, 1,000 one day, 1,500 the next —something that notably did not happen in Italy— and the total, while it has not been announced, cannot be far short of that achieved by the Russians in their geographically far more widespread operation.

Which, incidentally, furnishes another capital case of the difference between victories won in the field and those won in newspaper headlines. The River Oder seemed to exercise on the gentlemen of the city desk the same fascination as the Siegfried Line. They put the Russians across it on every day of the week. Actually, by February 12, Soviet troops in numbers sufficient to conduct large-scale operations appeared to have crossed only in the areas north and south of Breslau and it is hard to see how these can make much real progress until the city is taken.

Here, as before Berlin, the Nazis have set up their "bolt positions" and are waiting for the offensive to exhaust itself before undertaking a counter-attack. Getting troops across the middle Oder is not very important to Marshal Zhukov so long as the Germans continue to hold Posen, Frankfurt, Küstrin, with the possibility of a counter-attack from Pomerania. The probability that the bulk of German armor has been moved east for such a counter-offensive is indicated by the fact that in the west, where American and Canadian forces were making lavish use of tanks, only 10 German tanks were reported in action during a 24-hour period at the week's end.

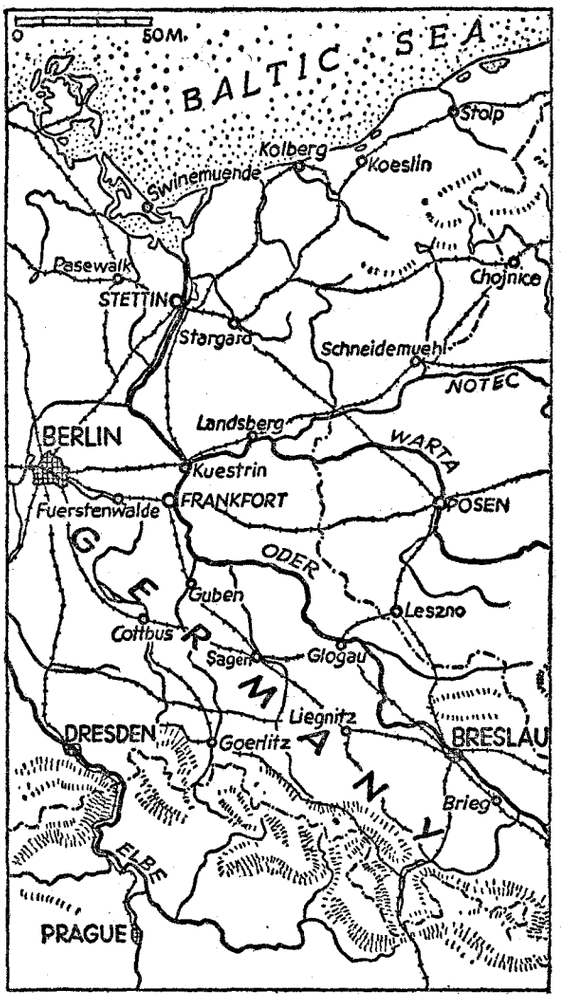
Zhukov has accordingly taken the perfectly logical step of throwing his main weight northward to disjoint this prospective attack before it can be organized. It appears to be more than a mere flank-clearing operation—rather a blow at the main mobile strength of the German army in the area where it now stands. Success in the battles now in progress would be far more important than the encirclement of Berlin, which will be under siege anyway if the prospective Nazi counter-attack can be strangled in its cradle.

Another gap between stated and actual achievement appears in the statement issued by Secretary Stimson to pacify GI's who have been denying, with some degree of grimness, that they are as well equipped for winter warfare as the War Department has claimed. It shows that 215,000 pairs of shoe pacs (the only footgear yet found wholly satisfactory for winter work) have been issued, with 285,000 pairs "not yet unloaded." Even the two figures combined evidently fill only a fraction of the total need (another part of the report mentioned 1,250,000 heavy sweaters issued); and the failure to provide is the less excusable since we were conducting a campaign in Alaska in 1942 and at least some men in the army knew exactly what was demanded by winter warfare.

Now there is very little doubt that the American soldier is the best fed and generally the best clothed of any in the world. Why the Service of Supply is unwilling to stand on its good general record, why it must insist that every detail of its performance is beyond criticism, is something of a mystery.

Settlement in Greece

The negotiations between the EAM, the Greek National Liberation Front, and the government of Premier Nicholas Plastiras have been concluded. They represent a victory for the popular movement which had taken up arms against Axis occupation as well as British intervention. While agreeing to the surrender of the arms now in the hands of individual members of ELAS, the fighting branch of the EAM, ELAS will remain custodian of the arms for the Greek govern-



The Oder Line

The Oder defense system, like that in the west, is less a line than an area. The German method in such an area is to hold the key communications centers, forcing an opponent who wishes to penetrate beyond the defense belt to move his supplies by difficult and circuitous routes, while their own mobile forces assemble for a counter-attack. In the central Oder area the Nazis on February 12 still held Posen, Schneidemühl, Frankfort and Küstrin. There were indications by that date that they were assembling a counter-attack in Pomerania, and that Marshal Zhukov had turned much of his strength in that direction to break up the maneuver before it could begin.

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ment. The inclusion of ELAS members in the national guard will guarantee a democratic army. Punishment for crimes committed during the short period of civil war and British military intervention will be lenient, as no sharp distinction can be drawn between political and other types of crime. A plebiscite on the question of monarchy and a general election will be held in the course of the year to assure Greece a democratic future. All in all, the EAM's military sacrifice against domestic reaction and foreign interference was not in vain.

Belgium and Holland

The formation of a national unity government in Belgium under Socialist Achille van Acker, subsequent to the resignation of the cabinet headed by Hubert Pierlot, may be expected to contribute to the country's political pacification and speedier economic resurrection. By taking the Communists into his government, van Acker has removed conditions which, under Pierlot, almost led to civil war. Symptomatic of Belgium's new political and economic alignment is the shift in the importance of ministries. Those departments most directly concerned with the immediate problems of reconstruction—Labor, Communications, Public Works, Food, Public Health—are in the hands of Socialists and Communists. Van Acker himself has assumed charge of the production and distribution of coal, Belgium's most important industry. While the cabinet also includes Liberals and Catholics, the distribution of ministries suggests the general economic direction in which Belgium may be expected to move.

The composition of the new Dutch government is not known as we go to press. But it will probably be based on a much broader foundation than the old exiled government, chiefly through the inclusion of resistance elements. The hope, of course, is that the change will prevent an experience similar to Belgium's with Premier Pierlot.

Petrillo and Interlochen

James Caesar Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians, has forbidden broadcasts by the students at Interlochen Music Festival, and the country is properly indignant. Indeed, Senator Vandenberg has introduced a bill in Congress designed to prevent a repetition of the action. We don't doubt that Mr. Petrillo is an annoying fellow, who does unpopular things in a disagreeable way. However, if you can stop seething like a seidlitz powder for a few minutes, we should like to point out the other side of the argument, if only in the interest of fair play.

1. Interlochen is a commercial enterprise. We are informed the students pay a tuition of several hundred dollars. Non-commercial schools such as the Curtis Institute and the Juilliard School are broadcasting at the present time with no objection from Petrillo. If the rule against broadcasting by commercial institutions were relaxed for Interlochen, it would be hard to keep off the air literally hundreds of other schools all over the country, which are conducted by members of the AFM in good standing.

2. Many other unions have rules precisely similar to those of Mr. Petrillo, of which no one complains. Bricklayers will not permit any casual passerby to come in and help them lay bricks for your house. Typesetters object strenuously to getting assistance from non-union amateurs. Our trouble is that music is such an important cultural institution, and there are so many amateur musicians playing for the love of it, that we cannot manage to think of it in union terms as we do of the work of a railway engineer or a coal miner. Yet the principle is precisely the same. The union of which Mr. Petrillo is the rather awkward and ungracious head is trying to provide and maintain as many jobs as possible for its members. It looks forward with misgivings to the end of the war when several thousand musicians will come out of the army, with few available jobs. It remembers how the coming of the talkies took away thousands of jobs from union musicians almost overnight.

3. Finally, the *New Republic* is in a position to offer a solution of this problem. Why don't the radio networks and stations give their musicians a guaranteed annual wage? They can well afford to do it: they are making millions. Musicians and their families have to eat all year 'round, like anybody else. If the radio industry will guarantee to the musicians an annual wage equal to what they now earn, the musicians will be glad to agree to a fixed percentage of time on the air for amateurs, large enough to take care amply of Interlochen and all similar worthy enterprises. That would be a good deal better solution than to pass unconstitutional, discriminatory legislation, or merely to call Mr. Petrillo names.

Aubrey Williams and the REA

Reactionary columnists and editorial writers have high hopes that the Senate will reject the nomination of Aubrey Williams, former WPA and NYA head, for Rural Electrification Administrator. They are singing the same "lack of experience" tune they sang while the Wallace confirmation was the issue, and a few Senators like Bushfield of South Dakota, good friend of the du Ponts, Pews and Mellons, are chiming in.

From the practical view, Aubrey Williams is the ideal man for the REA job. He knows farmers, he is an administrator of experience and proved competence, he is a real democrat who knows the plain people whom the REA serves and can deal with them without any of the trappings of bureaucracy.

The American Farm Bureau and the Grange, which are fighting Williams' confirmation, are opposing him

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mainly because of his connection with the National Farmers' Union. In spite of the opposition from this source, many of the acknowledged leaders of the Senate farm bloc, who personally know Williams' fitness, are already on record in his favor.

The Case of Henry Weber

Private Henry Weber, who had been condemned to death for refusal to drill and whose sentence has now been reduced to life imprisonment at hard labor, is the victim of the ambiguous treatment of conscientious objectors under the law. Weber is a member of the Socialist Labor Party, a minor Marxist sect, which holds this war to be capitalist in its origins and imperialist in its ams. He has explained that he was willing to be in the army, but that he "didn't wish to kill people." Under the law, exemption from military service and its obligations for reasons of conscience is permitted only to members of recognized religious groups, although there is some evidence that the law in certain cases has been liberally interpreted to include "philosophical" objectors. It would seem grossly unfair not to extend it to cover all cases of conscientious objection, religious, philosophical and political, unless we are cynically to assume that the purpose of the law is simply to silence the numerically small, but extremely vocal, pacifist religious groups. In any case, Weber's punishment, even in its reduced form, hardly seems to fit his "crime."

Anti-Semitism Again

Anti-Semitism made news in the United States last week. Dr. Harlan H. Horner, secretary of the Council on Dental Education of the American Dental Association, has been sending reports to dental colleges, and to the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives in Washington, recommending that colleges should have quotas based on the racial origins of prospective students—a move obviously aimed at Jews and Italians. Just how completely Dr. Horner spoke for the nine members or the Council is a matter of dispute, but there is no doubt that these members regret the publicity even though at heart they may agree with Dr. Horner. Everyone knows that there has been a great deal of anti-Semitism in American colleges and professional schools, just as there has been in many other aspects of our civilization. The organized groups which used to preach it have quieted down lately, because they were preaching Nazism at the same time, and friends of Hitler have not been too popular in this country of late. But anti-Semitism itself goes on among the ignorant, the stupid and the prejudiced. It must and will be stamped out; it is a negation of everything patriotic Americans hold dear and in particular, it is a violation of the cause, in this war, for which so many Americans have fought and died.

Lend-Lease to France

M. Jean Monnet is on his way back to France with a new lend-lease cash-credit deal through which a billion dollars' worth of supplies are to be delivered to the French. The proposal which Monnet brought to Washington called for a program of almost three billion dollars and did not include any mention of a loan or credits. The figures supplied by M. Monnet, and verified by our own foreign economic officials, show that the larger import program he urged was the minimum required for the French to play a real part in the war. Many United States civilian officials, including Harry Hopkins, contend that, aside from the necessity of stabilizing the French civilian economy, it is imperative that we supply the raw materials called for under the Monnet program so that French industry can turn out war materials for our armies now in France. Short-sighted military officials who cannot see what French industrial reconstruction can do to lessen our military supply problem in Europe, refuse to allocate shipping for the necessary materials. Even the small amount of tonnage that the military cleared for January was not all used. We hope that this important matter will be reopened when our top supply officials return from the present Allied conferences.

Selling War Surpluses

The War Investigating Committee of the Senate recently uncovered many cases of malpractice in connection with surplus disposal. Some of them arise from inherent weaknesses in the machinery of Surplus Property Administration, weaknesses already apparent last year when the SPA was set up by Congress.

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Unter den Linden

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The case of Jacob Goldberg, an auctioneer under contract to Jesse Jones's Defense Plants Corporation for the purpose of disposing of surpluses, has so shocked Chairman Mead of the Senate Committee that he is preparing a series of recommendations for improvement in the present system. Mead wants the creation of a government "clearing house" to ensure that each agency of the government will provide every other agency with a daily list of its surpluses, thus keeping speculators from buying from one agency at auction and selling to another at a higher price, as is now sometimes the case. Mead also favors the kind of priorities plan originally urged by labor and progressives to give state, county and city institutions first call on the surpluses before they are offered for general sale. Further, Mead feels that the government should warehouse the items not wanted by the priority group and then sell them directly to the public at a fixed price. The auction method might afterwards be used for remainders.

Senator Mead's proposals are a necessary stopgap that must be put into effect quickly if major thefts from our $100 billion surpluses are to be prevented.

People in the Limelight: J. Haden Alldredge

The oldest, one of the most powerful, most conservative and least known of the independent agencies of the government is the Interstate Commerce Commission. And one of its least known members is J. Haden Alldredge, who has just been reappointed by President Roosevelt. That he should be little known, particularly in the South, is surprising in view of the potential importance of his lifelong efforts to improve the economy of that region through a revision of the nation's lopsided freight-rate structure.

If and when the ICC decides the two big cases now before it in favor of a more uniform rate structure, most of the credit should go to Commissioner Alldredge. For twenty years his efforts have been in that direction. As an expert of the Alabama Public Service Commission, it was he who first educated the then Governor, Bibb Graves, in the complexities of freight rates. That education eventually resulted in the formation of the Southern Governors' Conference, which has frequently taken the lead in the freight-rate controversy. As head of the commerce department of the TVA, it was Alldredge who wrote *The Inter-Territorial Freight-Rate Problem of the United States*, which for the first time made the subject sufficiently clear for laymen. Editors and members of Congress alike pounced upon it, with the result that today practically any literate Southerner is able to converse at length on the subject of freight rates. After reading the book, President Roosevelt promptly named Alldredge to the ICC, although another Alabaman was already a member and there had never before been two commissioners at once from the same state.

Wallace Can Be Confirmed

IT BEGINS TO LOOK as though the enemies of Henry Wallace had outsmarted themselves. The George bill separating the lending agencies from the Department of Commerce was passed promptly and without amendment by the Senate; but in the House, the Unholy Alliance of Northern Republicans and Southern reactionary Democrats conceived the pretty plan of loading it down with so many amendments that President Roosevelt would be forced to veto it. But Congress has begun to hear from the country, and the more moderate wing of the anti-Wallace bloc is getting frightened. Even Senator George himself warned that if the House kept the matter in abeyance much longer there was a possibility the Senate might confirm Wallace in the job as it stands today, lending agencies and all.

The conservatives could hardly have acted more badly, from their own point of view, than they have done. They have made Mr. Wallace into a symbol and a slogan that go beyond his own distinguished abilities. Quite needlessly, they have turned the fight into one in which Wallace stands for prosperity and equality, and his opponents are dedicated to poverty and injustice. Why anybody should want to play such a role in the face of an overwhelmingly probable deep depression within the next two or three years, it is hard to see. At any rate, we on the progressive side have every reason to be grateful. Its enemies have done much to revivify the New Deal. They have brought together the progressives as nothing else could have done. They have given us a leader and a cause, and they will hear from us again in 1946—and 1948.

Meanwhile there is work to do in 1945. If enough people bring enough pressure to bear on the Senate, Mr. Wallace will be confirmed with or without the George bill. We suggest that you write or telegraph at once, supporting him, to the members of the Senate. Don't write a long letter; a few lines will do. Address yourself to the anti-Wallace men, and not just to the Senators from your own state. And concentrate on the men who come up for reëlection in '46, who should be earmarked for defeat if they do not change their vote. They are H. F. Byrd, Tom Connally, P. G. Gerry, Kenneth McKellar, J. C. Scrugham, Hugh Butler, H. W. Johnson, Arthur Vandenberg and R. E. Willis. Others who were against Wallace but whose terms expire later than 1946 include J. W. Bailey, J. H. Bankhead, W. F. George, C. R. Hoey, E. C. Johnson, J. L. McClellan, W. L. O'Daniel, Tom Stewart, M. E. Tydings, Styles Bridges, C. W. Brooks, C. D. Buck, H. J. Bushfield, H. E. Capehart, Arthur Capper, Guy Gordon, F. C. Donnell, Homer Ferguson, Chan Gurney, A. W. Hawkes, B. B. Hickenlooper, E. D. Millikin, E. H. Moore, Chapman Revercomb, E. V. Robertson, H. A. Smith, John Thomas, C. W.

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Tobey, K. S. Wherry, W. H. White and Alexander Wiley. The address in all cases is Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

There are undoubtedly more progressives than conservatives in the United States. Usually, the conservatives are better organized and better financed than the progressives and they therefore make a better showing. It will be interesting to see whether the liberals will get out and fight when their principles are challenged as fundamentally as they are today.

The Lesson of the Niger

FOR A REALISTIC VIEW of the problems with which colonial administration has to struggle, we commend an article by Julian Huxley in the winter issue of The Yale Review. Dr. Huxley, a distinguished zoölogist of wide scientific interests, has recently spent much time in British Nigeria studying conditions there. What he says is undoubtedly true of nearly all of West Africa, no matter what European power is in control.

Dr. Huxley paints a depressing picture of a country backward in the extreme. Ports are bad, railroads and other transportation and communication are painfully inadequate. In most areas the people are undernourished and devitalized, a prey to hookworm and other parasites, leprosy and a dozen more diseases. The infant death rate is very high.

Native methods of agriculture are primitive; palm oil, a staple crop in Nigeria, is likely to surrender to the modernized competition of the Dutch East Indies after the war. Soil erosion is extremely serious; fertilizer is badly needed and is almost entirely lacking. Water is so scarce in some districts that the natives walk ten miles to get it, carrying back a small quantity in tin cans on their heads. There are valuable mining operations, but these are owned in London, and until recently all the profits went to Britain; only in the very recent past has some beginning been made at income taxation for local purposes. Commercial trading in British Nigeria is under the United Africa Company, a branch of Unilevers, a huge corporation with a virtual monopoly. There are complaints that this African version of the East India Company prevents the production in Nigeria of goods which compete with its own imported products. There are also complaints that the government-owned railroad system prevents the building of highways which might conflict with its monopoly of transport.

To be sure, the picture is not all black. There are some prosperous districts and some well educated and healthy people. Educated Nigerians blame the poverty and ignorance of the country on the British and demand immediate political independence. Yet it is obvious that whatever its political future, much of a non-political character needs to be done.

A possible clue to the answer may be found in an article by Maurice Rossin in the current issue of The Survey Graphic, describing some of the things the French have been doing a few hundred miles away on the upper reaches of the Niger. With our own TVA as their inspiration, the French have developed a large and rapidly growing irrigation project on the Niger above Timbuktu, roughly halfway between Dakar and Nigeria. A great dam at Sansanding diverts the water into a series of irrigation canals, some of them beds of the river itself. Here 20,000 African natives are working 50,000 acres of newly irrigated, formerly arid land. Complete villages of new houses were built for them in advance by the French, and the settlers are furnished with seeds, tools and cattle. They produce ten to fifteen times as much per capita as they did in their former homes. Their standard of living is being raised tactfully but rapidly by the French. The government retains title to the land, but the farmers pay for their houses and equipment by giving the government one-third of what they produce, after taking out seed for the next planting and 600 pounds of foodstuffs per capita for family consumption. The other two-thirds of the surplus is sold on the market through coöperatives, for which the natives have shown a pronounced flair. The French, who went steadily ahead with this enterprise throughout the period of German occupation, are creating an amazing degree of prosperity where formerly there was deep poverty. As soon as hydroelectric installations are possible, the picture will be even brighter.

Surely there is an important lesson here for British Nigeria and for other poverty-stricken regions all over the world. Dr. Huxley, himself an expert on the TVA, points out that similar developments are both possible and urgently needed in Nigeria. Uganda has already benefited from an experiment of this sort, on a small scale. It is poverty that makes racial, religious and political controversies loom so large in men's eyes. And poverty is remediable. Perhaps we may discover that the road to Utopia is down a river valley.

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A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG
Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE
Assistant Editors: HEINZ EULAU, ELIZABETH HULING, GEORGE MAYBERRY, HELEN FULLER (Washington)
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Beveridge on Full Employment

THIS BOOK,[1] a sequel to Sir William's report on *Social Insurance and Allied Services*, is a brilliant contribution to economic analysis and public policy. It will be read and reread in the years to come, for it is a workmanlike statement of the nature of a full-employment program and the means of implementing it. The general reader will find in it, beautifully phrased, an insight into the economic policies to which the current revolution in economic thinking points. Sir William's book will not only help to raise the general level of public understanding of economic policy; it will also, by reason of its clarity and cogency, contribute much toward unifying professional economic opinion.

Full Employment in a Free Society succeeds to a rare degree in illuminating a mass of factual materials with meaningful analysis. The facts of unemployment before 1914 and between the two wars are marshaled and analyzed with a competence and a comprehensiveness that reflect the author's long experience and deep study of this problem. This was to be expected from his past work. What is remarkable is the skill with which he applies modern economic analysis to the formulation of a full-employment program. And finally, the author's experience and knowledge of public administration have enabled him to translate abstract formulations of policy into workable machinery of execution.

The full-employment program outlined by Sir William is designed for a *free* society. The price system, freedom of choice of occupation by individuals, private enterprise—this is the institutional pattern within which his full-employment policy is designed to operate. Problems of wages, prices, industrial discipline and motivation are utterly different in a free society from those in a totalitarian state. Full-employment policy in a free society presents enormously more complicated problems than the relatively simple coercive procedures under regimentation.

Flexibility in the labor market is a necessary condition of freedom. Thus, in a free society—a point which needs to be underscored—full employment cannot mean that at any given moment every person in the labor force is at work. Sir William argues that for England we must expect at theoretical full employment not less than three percent of the labor force to be unemployed. This is due partly to seasonal fluctuations, partly to frictional unemployment and partly to fluctuations in overseas demand which cannot fully be offset by any planned program. Translated into American figures, three percent of the 60-million labor force which current estimates indicate as probable in the postwar period would mean 1,800,000 at any one time out of work. If full employment in England means three percent unemployed, it is probable that, under American conditions with the greater seasonal fluctuations, the wide expanse of our country and the more difficult task of stabilizing our internal investment, we could scarcely hope to achieve as a practical goal a figure lower than four or five percent. This would mean two and one-half to three million unemployed at theoretical full employment. Unemployment insurance is designed to provide security for those who suffer such unavoidable though temporary unemployment.

It is somewhat difficult to square Sir William's three-percent average unemployment with his formal definition of full employment. He defines full employment as a condition in which there are more vacant jobs than unemployed men. I doubt the validity of his formal definition and, in fact, it seems to have little practical relevance in view of his quantitative definition.

Critics of Sir William's position may raise the question whether three-percent unemployment on the average provides enough flexibility in the labor market for a dynamic society. It may be pointed out that three-percent unemployment (or 1,800,000 in the United States) would mean 18 million people unemployed five weeks each year, or nine million people unemployed ten weeks each year; while five-percent unemployment (three million in the United States) would mean 30 million unemployed five weeks each year or 15 million unemployed 10 weeks each year. In other words, the degree of flexibility in the labor market with unemployment of these percentages is far higher than is usually supposed to be the case.[1] Thus, while Sir William's theoretical definition of full employment is, I believe, seriously to be questioned, the practical goal which he sets out is, I think, not unreasonable in terms of needed flexibility in the labor market. With three percent unemployed in England and four or five percent in the United States, there should be enough leeway to make the labor market manageable in a full-employment and free society.

It is perfectly true that a full-employment society, even as defined statistically above, is likely to be confronted with the problem of preventing wage inflation. By wage inflation I mean a rise in wages more rapid than the increase in productivity or, in other words, a rise in wages so rapid as to force an increase in prices. It is to the interest of wage earners that money wages

[1] Full Employment in a Free Society, by Sir William Beveridge. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 429 pages. $3.75.

[1] Moreover, in the United States, the "labor force" expands in the high-employment summer season. In addition, there is the "reserve" of labor (lists of persons who can be drawn upon temporarily) available to most firms.

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shall rise as rapidly as productivity increases, but it does no one any good to create a price inflation. If we expect to manage the wage problem in a full-employment society, it will indeed be necessary to have a degree of flexibility adequate to meet the requirements of a dynamic economy. But it would be a fatal mistake to rely upon large unemployment as the means to control wages. In a full-employment society, statistically defined as above, the control of wages must be achieved through enlightened union-management cooperation and collective bargaining. In a full-employment society it can reasonably be expected that the facts about increases in productivity and the degree to which wage increases can be made without incurring price increases will be thoroughly explored and that more and more an enlightened labor leadership will coöperate to achieve not only full employment (at rising wages as productivity rises) but also stability in the cost of living.

The reader, eager to get on with the exciting part of the story, may think I am wasting time on a relatively unimportant point. I stress this matter of labor-market flexibility and control of wage rates, because this is certain to become a focal point of attack against a full-employment program. While I think Sir William's abstract definition of full employment is unfortunate, and in my judgment indefensible, I believe that his applied and statistical definition of full employment can be defended.

Now to get on with the main story. Sir William lays down three conditions of a full-employment policy. The first is adequate total outlay. The central proposition in his book is that the responsibility of ensuring at all times outlays sufficient to provide full employment must be placed formally by the people of Britain upon the state. The assumption of this responsibility by the state is indeed the meaning of adopting a national policy of full employment.

To fulfill this condition a new type of budget is required. This new type of budget is a budget of total national expenditure, public and private; it is not confined to the fiscal operations of the Treasury. The new budget includes: (1) private consumption outlays; (2) private investment outlays at home; (3) balance of payments abroad; (4) tax-financed public outlays; and (5) loan-financed public outlays.

If the estimated outlays on these five categories are below the estimated value of a full-employment output, there will be unemployment. The responsibility of the state is to ensure an adequate total outlay.

If the total outlay is equal to the value of a full-employment output, we can estimate fairly accurately (the tax structure being given) what the private consumption outlay is likely to be. No reliable estimate, however, can be made of the volume of private investment or of the balance of payments abroad. These are the fluctuating and uncertain elements. Sir William believes, however, that it is possible to achieve through the regulation of a National Investment Board a high degree of stability in internal private investment. He thinks it is more difficult to control the foreign balance, since overseas demand is not subject to British control.

Accordingly, a compensatory policy by the state will be needed which involves a cardinal break with two main principles which have guided governments in the past; first, that state expenditure should be kept down to the minimum necessary to meet inescapable needs, and second, that government income and expenditure should balance each year. Once the possibility of deficient private demand is admitted, the central government, if it aims at full employment, must be prepared if need be to spend more than it takes away from the citizens by taxation (p. 136).

Nevertheless, Sir William lays relatively little stress on the compensatory feature and he is critical of the British White Paper on Employment Policy for viewing the problem mainly in these terms. He believes that if a long-term policy of planned public outlay (involving a systematic attack upon the giant social evils of want, disease, squalor and ignorance, and including an adequate program of public construction and public investment) is undertaken, cyclical fluctuations will be greatly reduced. Sir William's report proceeds on the basis of planning for a continuous steady expansion rather than on the basis of mitigating fluctuations (p. 263). He stresses a long-term expansionist program, including the growth of consumption demand which should help to maintain private investment, the stabilization of the prices of primary products to minimize fluctuations in overseas demand, the stabilization of private investment through a National Investment Board using powers of control and loan and tax policy, and finally the expansion of the public sector of the economy in terms of social services and public investment so as to enlarge the area within which investment can be stabilized directly (p. 271). Cyclical stabilization, he regards as a by-product in the main of a long-term expansionist program. *Fluctuation* of demand, he regards as secondary to the central weakness of the unplanned market economy, namely, the *chronic deficiency* of demand. While the British White Paper stresses the *timing* of demand, Sir William is mainly concerned with the *expansion* of demand (p. 269).

Nor is Sir William content merely to ensure that the state shall make outlays on current services and public investment adequate to raise the total demand to a full-employment income; such a policy would indeed ensure full employment, but it would not necessarily ensure the highest attainable standard of living or the best use of productive resources. He is vitally interested not merely in adequate total demand (which, to be sure, is the first categorical imperative) but also in social priorities, namely, the wise direction of outlay.

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In order to end the giant social evils of want, disease, squalor and ignorance, and in order to raise the productive power of the community, it may well be necessary that the public outlays in the total national budget be greater than the amount necessary to create an adequate total demand. Private consumption and private investment may accordingly, especially in the reconstruction years, have to be restrained in order to do the things that are most urgently necessary. Sir William is not content to relegate public outlays to the minimum residual necessary to maintain adequate total demand. While the first rule—adequate total outlay at all times—is absolute, the second rule—wise direction of outlay—is hardly less important (p. 147).

In general, Sir William favors as a rough guide (though of an altogether minor order of importance, p. 147) the rule that the current services of government should be paid by taxation, while public capital expenditures—the production of durable goods such as houses, hospitals, schools, means of transport and the like—are regarded as the natural subject of borrowing (p. 149). It would be dangerous, however, as Sir William is careful to point out, to stick closely to such a rule at all times. The ratio of tax revenues to expenditure should be based, not on considerations of finance and budgetary equilibrium, but on broad grounds of social and economic policy.

Sir William chides the British White Paper on Employment Policy for being still far too inhibited in regard to finance (p. 264). Taking account of careful estimates of the probable secular rise in national real income if Britain adopts a controlled program of expansion, Sir William shows that a policy of borrowing on a scale adequate to sustain full employment would be quite consistent with a steady reduction of the burden of debt to the taxpayer. In other words, while the national debt would rise, it would not (even though all probable requirements were met) rise so fast as the tax revenue derived from the expected growth in the real national income (p. 148).

Among the novel features of the book is the discussion of alternative routes to full employment. Starting from the depressed condition of Britain in 1938, he discusses how the gap between the realized total public and private outlays and the required full-employment outlays might be filled. What routes might she have taken, starting with the relatively low level of 1938, in order to achieve full employment? As outlined by Sir William, Route I would involve an increase of public outlay, leaving tax rates unchanged. This method would at once create a budgetary deficit. The increased public outlays, through the ensuing rise in employment, could be expected to increase private consumption expenditure by an amount that could within nearer margins of error be calculated. It might also induce some increase (difficult to estimate) in private investment outlays. Carried to the peint of full employment, the loan expenditures plus the private capital outlays would absorb the total flow of savings generated at a full-employment income. This is the first route to full employment.

Route II involves an increase of public outlay, together with an increase in tax rates sufficient to balance tax receipts and public expenditures. This route (orthodox financing) involves a much larger public outlay before full employment is reached. As the national income is pushed up by this method, private consumption outlays rise less rapidly than under Route I (and might even fall), owing to the increase in tax rates. If the new taxes weigh relatively lightly on consumption and instead impinge upon the flow of current savings (progressive taxation), a full-employment income may be reached with a relatively smaller public outlay than if regressive taxation were employed.

In connection with Route II the reader may be interested to consult my own discussion in *State and Local Finance in the National Economy* (published by W. W. Norton and Company) on pages 243-246 and 287-292. As I have repeatedly stated, it is not true that an expansionist fiscal policy necessarily means deficit financing. Route II requires, however, larger public outlays, the more so if the method of taxation is regressive.

Route III to full employment involves leaving public outlays unchanged while reducing rates of taxation all around. This method also creates, as does Route I, a budgetary deficit. And to reach full employment the resulting deficit would be a good deal larger than under Route I. If this route were used, tax remission should as far as possible be confined to taxation which falls on consumption rather than on current savings (p. 145).

In his long-range program of planned outlay, in addition to the expenditure areas with which we are all familiar, Sir William makes an interesting new proposal. He advocates the method of "joint outlay" under which essential consumption goods such as food, fuel, clothing, furniture and standard house equipment would be supplied to private citizens at low cost. While the ordinary private channels of retail distribution would be left undisturbed, the state would take over more and more the general business of wholesaling. Through bulk buying, substantial reduction in price might be achieved and, if need be, the price might be lowered still more by a subsidy. Bulk purchases of food from overseas would constitute a part of this program.

Sir William lays great stress on the stabilization of the prices of primary products. Through an elaborate statistical and analytical study of the trade cycle in England (Appendix A) he reaches the conclusion that fluctuations in British employment are largely determined by the fluctuations in overseas demand, springing from the fluctuations in prices of primary products.

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It has long been my belief that this latter fluctuation in turn is intimately related to the fluctuation in internal investment in the more dynamic industrial economies, notably the United States and Germany. It is in these countries, I think, that the international cycle typically starts, and then spreads to the primary producing countries whence it reflects itself in a reduced demand for British exports. Into this phase of the matter Sir William does not enter. His research (which adds greatly to our knowledge of the subject) is limited to the connection between Britain and the overseas countries.

The first condition, as we have seen, of a full-employment program is adequate total demand. The second is the controlled location of industry; and the third is organized mobility of labor. The sections in the book dealing with these latter two problems are of quite extraordinary interest.

Sir William adduces from his analysis of the British employment data the interesting conclusion that British labor is highly mobile with respect to movement from industry to industry, but immobile with respect to movement from region to region. He argues, drawing upon the reports of the Barlow Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population, that the controlled location of industry is of the utmost importance, not only from the standpoint of rational planning of land use, but also from the standpoint of solving the problem of structural unemployment. In the decades between the two world wars, industry became increasingly concentrated around the London area, leaving populations stranded in other parts of the country. This concentration of industry was not only highly dangerous from the standpoint of national security, but it also involved serious social disadvantages and costs to the community as a whole. The disadvantages in the flow of population to the great congested cities include the higher mortality of the great cities, the congestion and discomfort of the living conditions in them, the congestion and discomfort of transportation, and the costs involved to mitigate each of these three disadvantages. The Commission's Report, in Sir William's judgment, makes an unanswerable case for national planning of the location of industry. This conclusion, he thinks, is greatly reinforced by the damage to the districts which are left derelict and the social costs which are involved in the transfer of huge populations. Some minor economic advantages may indeed flow to the individual entrepreneur who locates his industry in the great centers, but this may be far more than offset by the general community costs, both of a social and economic nature, involved. There remains, moreover, the final difficulty that populations just will not readily move. To solve the problem of full employment, it is not enough merely to provide adequate total demand; it is also necessary to control the location of industry.

The third and final condition of a full-employment policy is the organized mobility of labor. This relates fundamentally to the movement of labor from trade to trade and from industry to industry. The compulsory use of employment exchanges should, Sir William thinks, clearly be imposed upon the juvenile workers. This would facilitate the controlled flow of adaptable juveniles to expanding industries and prevent their drifting into blind-alley occupations. Obstacles to the fluidity of labor must be removed, particularly restrictions on entry to specific trades and the unwillingness of the individual to change his job. Both of these ends could only be achieved in an environment of expanding demand and full employment. Under these conditions restrictions on entry can be removed; and the individual, provided by the state with facilities for training and reasonable assurance of obtaining employment, will be less reluctant to change his occupation. Organized mobility means flexibility of the labor supply and sufficiency of demand. It does not imply that all working people will be under the continual necessity to change their jobs and places of work. Most people should continue normally in their chosen occupations and their settled homes. Organized mobility does not mean perpetual motion, but it does mean that labor, in accordance with the requirements of a dynamic economy, shall move rapidly and directly to new jobs when there are new jobs.

With respect to government machinery necessary to implement a program of full employment, Sir William proposes a departmental organization in three tiers corresponding to the three functions:

1. The planning of total outlays, public and private, sufficient to provide full employment,
2. Ensuring that the best possible value is obtained for the outlay by efficiency and economy of administration, and
3. The function of actually making the outlay for the various purposes included in the national program.

Accordingly, he proposes a Ministry of National Finance to determine outlay, a Department for Control (the Treasury of the past) of Public Expenditure to ensure good value for outlay, and a number of executive departments under the supervision of the Department of Control. To control the location of industry, there should be established a Ministry of National Development, including the whole field of town and country planning, housing and transport. The Ministry of Labor should undertake the administration of the organized mobility of labor.

The Ministry of National Finance would have the duty of preparing the national manpower budget. It would be concerned not only with the outlay of the state, but also the outlay of private citizens for consumption and business investment. Consumption outlay can be influenced by taxation and price policy. Private investment can be integrated with public investment

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through such spheres of economic activity as housing and town planning, public utilities, transport, agriculture and each of the major industries. These plans can be worked out under the initiative and guidance of the state in coöperation with the industries concerned. Sufficient investment projects should be elaborated to provide for the needs years ahead, so as to permit the timing of their execution and ensure a steady flow of capital expenditure for the national economy as a whole. Investments undertaken by the central government, the local authorities, public utilities and private industry should be coördinated in accordance with the scale of priorities in a single national plan (p. 177).

For the execution of the National Budget there will be needed a new organ, the National Investment Board. In addition to direct public investment, the government should give assistance in the form of ensuring, by government guarantee, a low rate of interest for approved investment purposes. This would be of critical importance particularly in connection with housing schemes.

In the United States the broad outline of an expansionist program has recently been elaborated in the already famous Murray-Wagner-Thomas-O'Mahoney full-employment bill (S. 380, Seventy-ninth Congress, First Session) which sets forth a National Production and Employment Budget. Any reader of Sir William's *Full Employment in a Free Society* should at the same time make a careful study of the Murray full-employment bill.

ALVIN H. HANSEN

What the Small Farmer Needs

My neighbors and I are small farmers. We raise dairy cows and sell milk, eggs and poultry. We grow forage crops for our cattle in the summer, and a few acres of cash crop: corn, potatoes or squash. In the winter we cut wood for fuel and some saw logs if there is a market. Most of our work is done with small tools and machines, and the help of one or two hired men. The number of cattle we keep, the acres we farm, and the way we work them, are what distinguishes us from other farmers. Our small New England dairy farms are more akin to the small corn-hog farms of Iowa than they are to the factory dairy farms in our own county. If there is a common denominator by which agriculture can be divided, it is the size of the farm and the efficiency of the machinery used to operate it.

We are the "little fellows" who, because there are so many of us, produce most of the food that feeds America today. Since we are so numerous, our individual opinions, points of view and success are extremely various in a degree no less marked than our dissimilarity to the big-machine farms. For this reason we are puzzled by some of the farm statistics we see in the press. The statisticians' method seems to be to put us all, big and little, corporations and sharecroppers, into a kettle, boil us down and measure the fat that comes to the top. The more fat, the richer we are. The question in our minds is, richer who is? If statistics cannot answer that, we think their usefulness is very limited. They may give an accurate enough estimate of "agriculture," but they do not tell much about farmers. Before anyone jumps to a conclusion about what is happening to the people who farm the land, more detailed information is needed.

All farmers are now enjoying a statistical prosperity. Without a doubt some farms are making big profits. Annual farm income cannot jump from $2½ to $12½ billion without creating real prosperity somewhere. It does not follow, however, that all, or even a majority, of farmers are filling the banks with surplus cash. A good many small dairy and poultry producers see this vast income in the newspapers rather than their checkbooks, floors and subsidies notwithstanding.

For this there are many reasons. Subsidies and floors have checked inflation and benefited consumers. From the farmers' point of view they have helped to pay feed costs which were fast getting out of hand. In general, however, they have been of more value to the large farmer whose costs of production decrease relatively as volume increases. A second problem for the small-tool farmer is the fact that he does not have the cash to bid for labor and tools against the large producer. Finally, the big-farm profits are being made in grain and similar crops that can be produced extensively, rather than the intensive crops of the small farmer like milk and eggs. This does not mean that all small farmers are losing money. Many are making real profits, especially in the meat and grain-producing regions. The point is that a large number of those who are producing other equally essential foods are caught in a squeeze between high costs and low income.

These are details the figures do not show. We small farmers are disturbed because it seems clear that agricultural policy is being shaped by these mathematical calculations. So far as we can tell, the general public looks at the problem of agriculture as a simple matter of subtraction which shows an operating profit of $10 billion. It apparently does not know that the base income of $2½ billion did not give a decent standard of living to most farm people, that it was achieved only by working long hours and with help from all members of the family at the expense of health, education and necessary recreation. It is no accident that the largest percentage of young men rejected by the army

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for physical reasons came from farms. Statistics do not show the drain that present peak production is making on the agricultural plant as well as personnel. Finally, profitable farming is possible only when there are a series of good years to offset the inevitable lean years. One reason for high farm income today is the unusual and uninterrupted succession of good growing seasons. The time will soon be at hand when those profits will have to tide the farm population over late springs, drought and pests.

Like everyone else, farmers know the war must bring major maladjustments. We do not expect, or want, to get rich on war profits. Our concern, and it is a very profound one, is with the future. Generations before the Triple A, farmers knew that the condition of farms and farmers was determined to a large degree by the agricultural policies of the federal government. Homesteads, regulation of railroads, land-grant colleges are a fraction of the major political actions that have shaped the course of American agriculture. We also know that the policy of the federal government in the future depends on the kind of a program the people as a whole will support.

Agriculture has at last caught up with the industrial revolution. The small-tool farm cannot compete with the factory farm unless it too can have the advantages of mechanized farming. The question being decided now is whether the small-tool farmers are to continue as independent operators, or if we are to become primarily wage workers on factory farms. The future does not look bright if the American people base their decisions on present statistical incomes and the idea that farmers have been overconditioned on subsidies and generous federal benefits.

Small farmers like my neighbors and myself who are the ciphers in the statistics cannot boil our point of view down to a mathematical formula. Our hope is simply that the nation will think in terms of people when they come to decide the issue. A corollary to this is the need to understand what lies behind the "authoritative" statements of those big-farm-organization spokesmen who speak for all of us with such assurance.

The big farm organizations, like the Farm Bureau Federation, and the reactionary farm coöperatives, such as the Eastern States Farmers' Exchange, influence through the press a considerable section of public opinion. More important, with their powerful lobbies which pretend to speak for all of us, they can put great pressure on Congress. Their program follows this pattern: attacks on agencies designed to aid small farmers, such as the Farm Security Administration; the smearing of farm liberals like Henry Wallace; an effort to stir up major dissatisfaction with rationing, price control and similar war measures in the hope that the discontent can be forged into a political lever against the liberal section of the present administration. Finally, they attack labor at every opportunity—and when there is no opportunity, they are not above making one. Their propaganda sheets, like the *Eastern States Coöperator,* look upon the CIO and the PAC as witch symbols a hundred times more malign than anything ever dreamed up by a Pennsylvania Dutch hex doctor.

If the public fails to understand the conditions of agriculture, that it is all to the good from their point of view. It is unlikely that a strong popular demand for really progressive farm legislation will come from people who have the idea that all farmers are Herbert Hoovers in galluses. With that detail taken care of by, among others, the federal government's ineptitude in making clear just what is going on in agriculture, the problem of the big-machine-farm bloc is to separate—and keep separated—the small farmer and progressive government. This is another aspect of the campaign to prevent a coalition of small farmers and organized labor. Finally, to maintain permanent control of the nation's agriculture, the big boys must forestall any other organization which might become a spearhead for a small-farm revolt.

It is essential to remember that the farm organizations considered here represent actually no more than the managing directors. They make no effort to determine the rank-and-file opinion of their own membership. With the social cynicism of economic might, the managers create the program and then command the support of an ill informed and confused membership: ill informed and confused at least so far as the organization itself has anything to do with it.

This group is the center of the under-cover movement for shifting our agriculture to the factory farm. The farms which are unable to compete with the factory farms are the inefficient farms, they argue, while at the same time doing their utmost to prevent small-tool farms from creating the organizations and programs by which they could survive in such competition.

Of all the groups that make up American society, the small farmer is the most inarticulate. He rarely gets a chance to speak his mind in spite of the fact that he has an extensive battery of self-appointed spokesmen. Like barkers at a freak show, their interest is in the take, not the health, of the thin man. The sources of information that are available to the small farmer are limited, and for the most part hopelessly biased and narrow. For these reasons, a sound agricultural program must be based first of all on a clear understanding of what farm people want.

The first step in creating a postwar farm policy is to establish a reservoir of information. The machinery to fill this reservoir already exists. Before the United States entered the present war, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics set up what were known as the Rural Policy Committees. These consisted of a

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1613 CHRISTIAN MINISTERS DEMAND AN ALL-OUT ANTI-FASCIST PEACE

This declaration is in defense of religion because when religious institutions become involved in politics they lose their integrity and their freedom. It is basic to democracy that establishments of religion be uninvolved in politics, whether national or international.

Kenneth Leslie, *Editor*
THE PROTESTANT

Declaration

TO ROOSEVELT, CHURCHILL *and* STALIN:

IN making the following declaration we proclaim our feeling of spiritual kinship towards all people who, whether individually or as members of religious establishments, manifest their allegiance to the spirit of the Nazarene Carpenter. ESTABLISHMENTS of religion however widely representative, however exalted, have no place at the council tables of the state.

FOR a hundred years or more it has been assumed in all democratic countries that freedom of conscience had become a permanent achievement in human society and would spread with the spread of democracy throughout the entire world. Further it was assumed that this freedom rested securely on the basic principle of the separation of church and state.

EVENTS of the past fifteen years, particularly the re-emergence of the Vatican State into the arena of world politics, have shaken these assumptions in our minds and have impelled us to do what we can to reverse, before it is too late, a tendency which, if pursued to its logical end, will reduce mankind to a condition of ecclesiastical servitude.

DURING the Papacy's abstention from overt political activity, in the half-century between 1870 and 1929, it was blessed on its ecclesiastical side by an extension of its power and influence on a scale unparalleled in any previous age. Its growth was particularly marked in non-Roman Catholic countries where it enjoyed the most harmonious relations with existing free cultures. It is tragically significant that when in 1929 the Papacy re-entered the political field it did so in alliance with enemies of those very cultures in which its church had thrived. As a political power it gained its first fatal successes in treaties of friendship with Fascist powers. Supporting Mussolini in Italy, Dollfuss and Schuschnigg in Austria, Hitler in

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WE do not believe for one instant that the loyalty of United Nations soldiers of the Roman Catholic faith had to be purchased by any politcial dealing with the Vatican. On the contrary we believe these soldiers, understanding the issue better than the "statesmen" of their church, will consider such dealing a betrayal of what they are fighting for.

WE speak not as churchmen who would interfere in the affairs of state but as men of the state who are also men of the church and desire the freedom of both. In accordance with sound democratic principles we insist that a church which would link its destiny to that of the state must be kept at arm's length by the state.

WE therefore oppose any attempt under whatever formula to involve the free democratic states in any deal in which the Vatican State or its representatives, or the representatives of any Protestant or Jewish establishment of religion, has part or place, either as principal or mediator.

Among the 1613 Christian Ministers and Religious Leaders who have signed this declaration are:

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President, Princeton Theological Seminary

DR. HENRY N. WIEMAN
Divinity School, University of Chicago

REV. RUFUS W. WEAVER
Executive Secretary, District of Columbia Baptist Convention

DR. JOSEPH HAROUTUNIAN
Department of Systematic Theology, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago

BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL
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REV. ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS
Professor, Union Seminary

DR. JAMES LUTHER ADAMS
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REV. MARK A. DAWBER
Executive Secretary, Home Missions Council of North America

DR. HARRY F. WARD
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DR. FREDERICK D. KERSHNER
Dean, School of Religion, Butler, University, Indianapolis

DR. EDWIN McNEILL POTEAT
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representative group of farmers in every farm community. It was their responsibility to plan ways of improving farming and farm life in that particular township. Preliminary plans drawn up in the community went through county, state, regional and national offices, where they were supposed to be worked into over-all plans for American agriculture, designed for community needs yet fitted into a national program. Before this plan got under way, it was scrapped for reasons that had nothing to do with its merits. The rural-policy committees were more or less taken under the wing of the Extension Service and the whole program was watered down to a thin gruel.

In spite of this initial failure, the machinery with which to begin a satisfactory farm program still exists. The immediate questions are: how much would Congress appropriate to put the rural-policy committees back on their feet? and which agency would be selected to supervise the work? If Congress is prepared to act, and to act in such a way that the program will have a chance to succeed, it is then up to the Department of Agriculture to pull itself together, straighten out the tangled mess of overlapping agencies and give the rural-policy-committee program real support. It is particularly important that the sabotage of such programs by agencies within the Department be checked at once.

Once the rural-policy committee, or some similar machinery, has been put in working order, the agency to which it is given will have to run it with more than routine intelligence. If it should come to be controlled by a group of experts who use it as a tool to set up a rigid, ideal plan, it will inevitably fail. One of the greatest virtues of the rural-policy-committee idea is that it gives the Department of Agriculture an opportunity to learn something from the men who actually farm the land without the benefits of abundant labor and equipment with which agricultural experiments are conducted. A successful rural-policy-committee program will in addition need to make an energetic effort to reach all farmers. The administration of the program must be in the hands of those who are devoted to the idea of creating the informed and democratic climate in which all farmers, big and little alike, can develop a satisfactory existence. It is a program that demands the same personal devotion which gave life to the early New Deal projects, and none of the later arrogance or inflexible academic administration which has helped to undermine their present position.

The rural-policy committee is essentially an educational agency. The most it can achieve is the thorough preparation of a seed bed. It can lead to constructive action, but it is not in itself a tool. Such a tool does exist, however, in the Department of Agriculture. This is the Soil Conservation District program, which is the basic-action program in which all farmers should participate.

The soil-conservation district is in reality an extra unit of government established in a watershed, county, or similar area, and operating under a state enabling act. It permits farmers as a group of individuals to form a unit to develop better land use in the community. In every state except Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut, a group of farmers may petition the state to set up a district in the area they designate —and even these three states are now considering enabling acts. After a certain amount of technical investigation, a plan is drawn up for local approval, which, if accepted, becomes what is in fact a government in which all land-users have an opportunity to adjust economic, social and physical conditions for the good of the area as a whole.

The soil-conservation district can collect money from its members and borrow money to be used for their benefit. In some states it can impose mild penalties for failure to live up to the rules adopted by the community. Where it has been most successful, the conservation district can enforce zoning laws. It can ask for and get technical assistance from any federal and most state agencies whose services would be useful. The free use of these agencies and the salaries of a small technical federal personnel are the extent of government subsidy. All other costs are borne by the members themselves.

Usually the first job of the soil-conservation district is to stop erosion, hold the soil and control running water. That requires heavy machinery like bulldozers. Once the district has a dozer, it can be used to build fire-breaks and water holes, remove stumps, rocks and walls from fields, and do many other back-breaking jobs the small-tool farmer could not afford to do alone. In the Northeast particularly, one of the great problems of the small farm is the limited area of the fields. Plowing a three-acre piece bounded by stone walls with a tractor takes a maximum of patience, skill and almost as much time as it would to do the job with a pair of good horses. With the district dozer to push the walls into the woods, and take the stumps and rocks out of the adjoining fields, the three acres would become twelve—an area large enough to make the use of machinery profitable. The small farm thus becomes a unit that can be efficiently mechanized instead of an old-fashioned patchwork laid out to be worked by oxen. The district also provides the framework whereby the many new machines about to be manufactured can be purchased and used by the smaller farms as a group. That is the only economic way in which these costly tools can be made available to the small-scale units. Even if the district organization itself does not undertake such a general program, it will nevertheless establish the example from which the coöperative use of machinery can be developed.

The possibilities of the soil-conservation district are enormous. The district organization can provide for better rural health, education, markets, and for lower

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tax rates. It is important to remember that as many gullies are caused by low receipts from the sale of milk as grow out of plowing up and down the hill. The soil-conservation district is the basic-action agency in our developing rural life because it gives the farmers something with which they can work out a democratic and coöperative solution of their problems, present and future.

AYERS BRINSER

Will the War Criminals Escape?[1]

THE United Nations War Crimes Commission was born of an eager mother, the London International Assembly, and a reluctant father, the British Foreign Office, groomed by the American State Department. Its sickly development is the result of its mixed inheritance. In October, 1942, the International Assembly, a representative body, sponsored by the British Foreign Office, of the principal United Nations—or rather of their governments in London—recommended that a protocol be agreed upon at the earliest possible moment among the Allied governments, defining acts punishable as "war crimes" in accordance with existing law and also creating international machinery for the prosecution and punishment of criminals.

"Let us be terrible so that the people need not be terrible," said Danton, presiding over the first revolutionary tribunal in France. Like him, the United Nations governments wanted to canalize retribution into legal forms, not have it result from the spontaneous anger of the people.

But the Foreign Office was in no hurry. Are war crimes offenses against the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907? Should the definition be confined to crimes against civil or military law? The Foreign Office asked these preliminary questions with the object of narrowing the scope of the proposed commission's powers. Politics is not primarily concerned with morals. Paris was worth a mass; North Africa seemed worth a Darlan; Rome was almost worth a Badoglio. Neither the Foreign Office nor the State Department wanted an indictment which would include Darlan and Badoglio as war criminals.

By July, 1943, the impatient Assembly demanded again, Should judicial procedure govern the trial of war criminals? Dr. Jan Marten de Moor, president of the Netherlands High Court in London, later a member of the War Crimes Commission, made a strong public protest against the delay. M. Marcel de Baer, president of the Belgian Military Maritime Courts of Appeal in Great Britain, made a vigorous speech in the Assembly. He asked that means of prosecution be studied immediately, even though the actual trial of the war criminals should be left to the individual members of the United Nations. But when a member of the Assembly inquired whether Mussolini would be held for trial, M. de Baer suggested this was a matter for the Commission to decide.

And so the question jogged along. Viscount Simon, the Lord Chancellor, and President Roosevelt announced in November, 1943, that the War Crimes Commission had been established. "The Commission," said Simon, "will be composed of nationals of the United Nations selected by their governments. Investigations will cover the war crimes of offenders irrespective of rank. We don't intend to make the same mistake [as in the last war] by postponing this demand [for the surrender of the guilty] until the final peace treaty is signed. Enemy criminals who are wanted for war crimes should be caught and handed over at the time of and as a condition of the armistice. [As for the instruments of justice] the laws of war permit a belligerent commander to punish by his military courts any hostile offender against the laws and customs of war no matter when the crime was committed. Prompt action is one of the essentials." But he added, as a warning forecast of the Commission's limitations, that the composition of the International Court will be more difficult.

The Moscow declaration on German atrocities was made by Great Britain, the United States and the USSR and published during the Moscow Conference in November, 1943. It stated the general position: "At the time of the granting of any armistice to any government which may be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi Party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in the above atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done, in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free governments which will be erected therein."

So far, so good. With Sir Cecil Hurst, vice-president of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as chairman, the Commission went to work as, in his words, "a fact-finding body which investigates evidence and draws up lists of persons wanted as criminals. The responsibility for deciding what war crimes should be brought before the Commission and for supplying it with evidence lies with the national offices of the individual governments." Meanwhile Russia's special State Commission proceeded with the job of investi-

[1] Mr. Edelman wrote before the results were announced of the Yalta Conference at which Messrs. Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin reiterated their intention of punishing the war criminals.—THE EDITORS

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gating war crimes, bringing criminals to trial and hanging some of them.

At this point begins Britain's remarkable conflict within the Commission. The Secretary General of the Commission, Mr. McKinnon Wood, holds an appointment in the Foreign Office which is concerned above all lest the members of the WCC exceed their terms of reference and thus encroach on political decisions and perhaps on Foreign Office expediency. There was no question of left-wing or right-wing policy; the question was whether politics should take precedence over abstract justice. For example, it was stated that Subasich, the Yugoslav Premier, had had a price put on his head by Tito, before their agreement, because Subasich, as ruler of Croatia, omitted to release left-wing political prisoners in the face of the German advance and these prisoners were therefore captured by the Nazis. Should this be considered a war crime? If Subasich were indicted by the War Crimes Commission for his alleged neglect, would this prevent or hinder an agreement between him and Tito?

On the other hand, Sir Cecil Hurst resigned from the WCC because of "pressure of work," and Herbert Claiborne Pell was fired. Both these men are concerned with justice, not with legal forms. Sir Cecil Hurst said before his resignation, "There is no doubt whatever that Hitler is a war criminal. I don't know how the suggestion to the contrary arose." Nevertheless the fact remains that the Commission, acting under directives, had not included the Nazi leaders among the few hundred war criminals against whom, after a year's work, the charges were complete. Mr. Eden verified, in a communication to the Commission, the fact that the case against the German leaders is outside the scope of its inquiry. The view of the Foreign Office is also that of the government as a whole, which the FO influences. In other words, it is not Mr. Eden's intention that the major fascist crimes against mankind—massacre, demoralization of the young, perversion of truth—should be dealt with by the Commission. He is content that it should flounder in a mass of legalistic quibbles, as for example, whether a war crime committed against an Englishman in Germany should be tried according to German law as it now stands or whether the law should be revised. The Commission has only touched the fringe of the war criminals and has lacked the full support of the most powerful Allied governments, Great Britain and the United States, in reaching an agreement upon a comprehensive judicial procedure.

Does the British government intend to appease the German military leaders by excluding them from the indictment? No. There is no need for appeasement of military leaders. Do the Foreign Office and the State Department want to deal with German political leaders according to the miserable policy of Darlanism or Murphyism? I believe that political expediency—which may prove not to be expedient in the long run—has so far prevented the general indictment of Nazi leaders because of the hope that among them there may be a Badoglio and because of the fear that at the trial of certain Fascists and Nazis some faces will turn red in London and even in Washington.

London (by cable) MAURICE EDELMAN

Trying to Wreck the FEPC

LIBERAL FORCES fighting in Congress for the enactment of an effectively implemented Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee are facing a new threat in the form of a counter-measure being sponsored in the Senate by Robert A. Taft. The Taft bill would establish a Permanent FEPC without authority to enforce its orders, thus perpetuating the ineffective status of the present temporary organization and playing into the hands of Southern white-supremacy and Northern reactionary forces.

Passage of bills now pending—in both Senate and House—which would ensure the kind of Permanent FEPC liberals want and which have bi-partisan sponsorship, will require a coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats. Senator Taft is chairman of the Republican Steering Committee in the Senate, and his influence with Republican members is great. Unless it is repudiated, his leadership can pull enough Republicans into the reactionary camp to swing the coalition the other way.

Should the Taft bill be brought to the floor of the Senate for a vote, it would not surprise those who have been watching the Southern press to see it pass with no more than a token filibuster. Southern political analysts are reporting that our race-conscious Senators know that there will soon be some kind of permanent FEPC; that they can't hold back the wheels of progress forever. Could it be that they are already seeking a compromise in the cloakrooms? Could there be some connection between these reports and the fact that Senator Taft, who only last September voted in committee for a Permanent FEPC with enforcement powers, now introduces a bill for a Permanent FEPC with no other power than to say "*Please*, Mister, *don't* discriminate!"

Last week Senator Taft told a delegation of Ohio civic, labor, press and Republican political leaders that he voted as he did in the Senate Committee on Education and Labor before the election, only because he knew there was no chance of final action in the Seventy-

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eighth Congress and the bill would come before the committee again in the new Congress. Reminded of campaign pledges, he said that no one had any right to interpret the plank in the Republican Party platform calling for a Permanent FEPC as having any connection with the bill now pending in Congress to establish a Permanent FEPC with enforcement powers.

Fortunately, Republicans, strong in the House, differ somewhat in their interpretation of the party platform, as well as in their interpretation of what constitutes meaningful legislation. With the opening of the new Congress, six Republicans, representing all shades of Republican opinion, joined in the bipartisan sponsorship and reintroduction of last year's bill. The day after Taft introduced his sham bill, the House minority leader, Representative Joseph Martin, told a delegation of representatives from 15 national organizations interested in effective FEPC legislation that he favored enforcement powers and believed a substantial majority of Republicans would vote for the bill scheduled to be reported favorably by the House Labor Committee on February 13. That bill would authorize the new FEPC to take violations of the law to court, and for the first time would give meaning and substance to a federal policy that has long been enunciated but never made really effectual. That bill is likely to pass in the House, but not in the Senate, as things now stand. Senator Taft therefore holds the key.

Historically, pressure for the elimination of discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin became a burning issue during the Lend-Lease period when America had dedicated herself to the task of serving as "the arsenal of democracy." Giant want ads called for all available manpower and womanpower; boards of education set up training centers, and elaborate in-service training was instituted by the larger sections of American industry. Negro Americans found themselves rejected for training and employment. Their leaders, after unsuccessfully employing every democratic means of obtaining their integration into industry, finally proposed a march on Washington to bring to the attention of the nation the Negro's desire to serve America as all other Americans were being permitted to serve. As a result of this planned protest, a historic conference was called at the White House and President Roosevelt, in June, 1941, issued Executive Order 8802 calling for the elimination of discrimination in industry and government in the interest of all-out production. The commission appointed has become known as the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. Despite an inadequate budget, frequent shifts from one agency to another and lack of any enforcement power, this committee has been able to spotlight the cancer of discrimination as it affects not only production but the lives of all minorities.

A Mark to Shoot At

The American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same inspiring way that they have met the problems of war. The American people are resolved that we shall ensure that the youth of this nation will never again be called upon to fight in another war. And the American people are equally resolved that when our boys return home from this war, they shall come back to the brightest possible, the freest possible, the finest possible place on the face of this earth—to a place where all persons, regardless of race, color, creed or place of birth, shall live in peace, honor and dignity—free from want and free from fear. To do otherwise would betray the faith of every soldier, every worker, every businessman, every farmer in this country who is giving his best for America.—*Henry A. Wallace, testifying before the Senate Commerce Committee.*

Inter-racial, inter-faith, trade-union and community leadership, recognizing the importance of congressional action to continue the work of the Fair Employment Practice Committee with adequate enforcement powers, last year called a conference to discuss the matter. Out of this conference was formed the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee, which is responsible for the introduction of the bills under bipartisan sponsorship in both Houses.

There are probably many who believe that investigation and persuasion will go a long way toward solving the problem of economic discrimination. They will, but not far enough. Investigation and persuasion alone do not put a stop to crime; only orderly law enforcement through the courts keeps crime under control. Is it less criminal to deny a man his right to a job than to kill him, or even to steal his shoelaces?

The Americans of this country who are subject to discrimination—the 13 million Negroes, the 22 million Catholics, the 5 million Jews, the 3 million Americans of Mexican or Spanish origin, the 11 million foreign-born, the 22 million children of foreign-born—contend that they have been investigated long enough. They know, *because they suffer it,* that discrimination exists today.

Early enactment of a Permanent FEPC with enforcement powers would help to speed war production; it would help to lay the groundwork for an orderly approach to both war and peacetime employment problems; it would help to ensure the four freedoms our minorities are fighting for throughout the world today. Such an FEPC is still possible, in spite of Senator Taft, if his leadership on this issue is repudiated and the weight of his party thrown behind those Republicans in both House and Senate who are joined with the Democratic sponsors in advocating a real FEPC.

Washington IDA FOX

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Washington Notes

Mainly about Jobs

ALMOST CERTAINLY the results of the Big Three meeting at Yalta will produce a legislative storm. It can now be revealed that Steve Early and President Roosevelt sympathetically considered taking a representative group of Washington correspondents to the conference by air. This would have been a wise move to help placate probable turmoil ahead. Presumably it was blocked by Soviet-British considerations. When Stalin and Churchill return home, their governments will accept anything they agree to; President Roosevelt's fight just begins. It will be his supreme test in mobilizing public opinion. There has been gratifying political non-partisanship in America toward foreign affairs so far. But recent speeches by Dewey and Vandenberg show wide escape loopholes. Vandenberg, before the Yalta results were announced, had two Dumbarton Oaks reservations: (1) a review clause, to reconsider the Polish, Greek and other questions; (2) an unwillingness to have the proposed new international fire-alarm system apply to aggressors other than Axis powers, without submission to the Senate for debate. Will he make approval conditional on acceptance of these "reservations"?

Congress is afraid of advance planning, essential to 60 million jobs. It abolished the National Resources Planning Board. Now the House Appropriations Committee has slashed the proposed $77-million loan fund to states and localities, to stimulate advance public-works planning, to $5 million. The fight goes to the Senate and is one of the biggest issues in Congress. The evidence before the House committee gives the most concise statistical evidence I have seen that we are not really planning for 60 million jobs. Public-construction projects actually ready for quick start do not begin to meet the need. It is estimated for example that an annual $5 billion of public works (federal, state and local) plus twice that amount of private construction is needed as a normal balance wheel of postwar prosperity. The public is led by duplicating stories to overestimate the amount actually made ready. It takes 12 to 18 months to lay construction blueprints. Official evidence shows that plans are being drawn for only $2.5 billion worth of public works—about half enough. The equivalent ratio, carried through the national income scale, would provide only half of 60 million jobs The rub comes in municipal and local construction. The Perkinsville Sewage System can't plan its new disposal plant until funds for the whole project are appropriated. The cost of planning is about five percent of the whole job. Hence the Administration proposed to advance $77 million to speed up local plans: it would set the stage for $1.5 billion worth of later construction. The House committee's terrific slash was made on the old, old theory that prosperity is self-starting.

Few people really expect the 60-million-jobs program. That is why we are threatened with another coal strike. Two-year contracts expire March 31. Fuel Administrator Ickes has failed in his attempt to speed things up; we will end this quarter with a 10-million-ton deficit. Our nerves are going to be jangled; labor will get another black eye. Are the miners unpatriotic? No; with a 12-percent cut in working force, and men of 70 working in the pits, output has jumped 20 percent since the war started, our miners are staying underground longer than any other miners in the world, and average output is five times the British. True, take-home wage is high, though hourly rates haven't increased much. But what the miners want is security. They haven't got it—never have had it. Mining is about the most spasmodic industry in America; you can't count on three days' consecutive work. Miners must prepare for the evil days ahead when idleness returns. How can they know there will be 60 million jobs. Here, if anywhere, is the argument for an annual wage: give the miners security by hiring them by the year, rather than the day. But again we come back to the starting point; you can't do this without full-employment guarantees—without national planning.

Notes.—Steve Early will soon quite the White House to go into a highly paid private job. He has been one of the great White House secretaries, on a par with Wilson's Tumulty. Substitute Jonathan Daniels will take over. . . . When the Burma Road was reopened, the number of serviceable trucks in China was down to about 3,500. . . . The strength and weakness of democracy were illustrated at Aubrey Williams' confirmation hearings the other day when easy-going Senator Elmer Thomas asked if there were other witnesses, and inadvertently swore in a crazy woman; I have seen odd things in Congress, including the midget in Morgan's lap, but nothing quite so funny, or disgusting as this; red-faced Senators finally got rid of her after she declared Williams' hands were "dripping with blood." At the same hearing puffy-faced McKellar read a telegram from Williams' old Presbyterian divine in Alabama demanding his rejection because, after a denominational education, he had "denied the divinity of Christ." . . . Bedridden Carter Glass, 87, hasn't answered a Senate roll call since June, 1942; his term lasts till 1949. . . . The food at the Dewey-Lincoln Day dinner caused qualms; one awed correspondent said he had never seen such large quantities of underdone duck. . . . Marshall Field's Field Enterprises, Inc., is making money, including *PM* and radio stations; the *Chicago Sun* is still in the red. Next big Field venture, I understand, will be in the important, small-town "boiler-plate" field, now dominated by the conservative Western Newspaper Union, which foists NAM handouts and similar material upon newspaper clients to its copyrighted inside pages; James Warburg will probably head the "Cross-Country Newspaper Service." . . . Also the *New York Post* may buy the *San Francisco Chronicle*, giving the Pacific Coast one of its few liberal papers. . . . The Germans left just six locomotives behind in Greece; UNRRA reports people starving 25 miles away from food. . . . UNRRA itself, which looked fine on paper, is seriously threatened: the military won't give it ships and Russia (momentarily) won't cooperate. . . . Liberal Representatives tell me they think most of the starch is out of the new "Dies" Committee.

Washington T. R. B.

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International Notes

Western Europe

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S "non-ideological" statements notwithstanding, the Spanish civil war remains an unforgettable symbol of the anti-fascist struggle of our time. Nobody knows this better than General Francisco Franco. He was speaking the truth when he declared at the recent fourth National Youth Congress in Madrid that the Spanish civil war "is not yet over. Although we threw our enemy out of Spain, the enemy is still our enemy outside." Franco has a good reason for being disturbed. His opposite number in the civil war, Republican Prime Minister Juan Negrín, after five years of self-imposed silence has finally thrown his hat into the ring of Spanish Republican politics. And Negrín has a good chance of success in bringing about a maximum of effective unity among the exiled parties and factions of the Spanish Republic. As the fiasco of the recent unification efforts attempted in Mexico City by Martínez Barrio and Indalecio Prieto suggests, they need his administrative energy, his combative spirit and political acumen.

Negrín's departure, in late January, from England to France is significant in itself. Political activity was apparently made impossible for him in Great Britain, which seems determined to keep Franco in power. In Paris, on the other hand, in spite of the French government's official refusal to commit itself in favor of Spain's anti-fascist cause, Negrín was provided with hotel quarters reserved by the Foreign Office. Shortly before his departure from England Negrín had stated in a telegram sent to Martínez Barrio that he was prepared to deal with all such groups and individuals "as do not expressly refuse to do so." In the meantime, the Communists and the powerful Junta Nacional in Toulouse, with excellent underground contacts inside Spain, have pledged their support to Negrín. He also enjoys the advantage of being probably the only exiled non-Communist politician who can hope to be supported by the Soviet Union, which has consistently and actively opposed the Franco regime.

Much has been made in the last few weeks of what is called a "swing to the Right" or a "conservative trend" in French politics. The January meetings of the two great resistance movements, Mouvement de Libération Nationale and Front National, took place in an atmosphere of uneasiness and disappointment. Little had been done by the French government to execute the demands of the resistance groups for the nationalization of basic industries, demands based on the premise that the war is also a social revolution. But one of the lessons of the Spanish civil war was that it is dangerous, if not impossible, simultaneously to fight a successful war and have a revolution. France, in order to play the important role in international politics which she wants to play, must participate in the war. The revolution must wait because the introduction of basic social reforms at this time might not go unopposed and might seriously cripple the French war effort.

As to the so-called "conservative trend," however, semantic precision requires one to state that it is a trend *within* the leftist movement, not a trend *away from* leftism. Even the most "conservative" of the resistance groups on whom de Gaulle depends for political support, Mouvement Republican Populaire, operates within the framework of the Left. That its formula of "revolution within the law" runs parallel to the present "unity" tactics of the Communists is not accidental. Both groups appreciate the danger besetting the hoped-for revolution if France should not fully participate in the war, a danger which is a reality in Italy. Even the Socialists—the "leftists" or "radicals" in the leftist movement—continue to support de Gaulle in spite of their attacks on the government's slowness in the purge and in economic reforms. The resolution, for instance, adopted at the January congress of the Socialist-dominated Mouvement de Libération Nationale, pledges "support of General de Gaulle's government in its war effort and in its work for the restoration of French greatness through economic and social liberation."

The French dilemma is easier to understand if one considers the politico-military situation in Italy. The Italians, Allied step-brothers-in-arms though formally at war with Germany, are neither permitted to fight nor to have their revolution. The Italian government has repeatedly asked for greater Italian participation at the front. Each time the request has been refused. The reason given, in the words of Colonel Clayton P. Kerr, deputy director of the Allied Military Mission, is that "it is impossible, in fact suicidal, to send large numbers of Italian soldiers into combat with weapons with which they are not familiar. Training in the use of such weapons would take too long to be of value to the common Allied cause." Behind this double-talk is the Anglo-American fear that arms in the hands of enthusiastic anti-Fascist Italians might become dangerous political weapons after the war.

Allied use of Italian troops for guarding public buildings, docks, factories, etc., rather than for front-line service, has made Italians reluctant to respond to the army draft. Another reason, of course, is that transformation of the Italian "royal" army into a "national" army has been sabotaged (the only military leader who dared to suggest this, General Arnoldo Azzi, was forced to resign), and that Italians are not enthusiastic about dying for the King.

Notes. – Austria's anti-Nazi "Freedom Front" includes 10,000 trained soldiers amply equipped with weapons, ammunition and food. . . . The Chinese Communists claim that their Eighth Route Army recovered 3,060 square miles of territory, liberating 1,405 villages and a population of 259,632, in the first ten months of 1944. . . . The Swedish Riksdag has appropriated about $137 million for international postwar reconstruction, particularly for credits to Norway, Denmark and Finland. . . . The International Federation of Trade Unions has refused to admit the CIO and the Russian trade unions. . . . Chungking's retail-price index, which by the end of December had increased to 485 times the basic figure of June, 1937, went up to 655 times at the end of January—an advance of 35 percent. . . . Uruguay, Peru, Ecuador, Paraguay, Venezuela, Chile and Argentina may be barred from the peace conference for not declaring war against the Axis.

E. L. P.

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The Gold Rush

In the usual superficial, gaga Hollywood-biography way, "Roughly Speaking" looks at the life of Louise Randall Pierson, who wrote the movie script as well as the best-seller on which it is based. Mrs. Pierson, who describes herself as "granite" and "New England," is as ambitious as Alexander and "not afraid of anything," and has spent her life, as far as this movie is concerned, mainly in trying to get rich and failing. The daughter of a wealthy New Englander, she was married and divorced by a banker and since then has been successfully married to Mr. Pierson, who has tried a number of ventures, from rose-growing to welding. She feels, so the picture says, that she is one who "breaks rules" and "swims upstream," though her ideas about success, marriage, divorce, America and money fit the conventional concepts even of Hollywood. Mrs. Pierson has had more children than movie wives generally do, but in the film they are typical movie offspring, with, if anything, less to show for themselves than usual. The effect of Mrs. Pierson's "granite" on them isn't noticeable.

The film goes through the last forty years of American history with Mrs. Pierson on "the inside" of its main attractions, which is where she believes in being. But her inside view is as stock and vague as her children. Yale, in the early years of the century, is a singing session of "By the Light of the Silvery Moon" in a student's room; World War I is a shot of Mrs. Pierson selling a war bond; the money-mad days of the twenties is a shot of a lot of checks being made out; the depression is a comedy scene with Mr. Pierson practising the sale of a vacuum cleaner on his wife; prewar days is someone's remark that they see the lights of the Polish Pavilion going out on the World's Fair grounds; the present war is a shot of Pearl Harbor and a protracted railroad-station scene with the Piersons saying goodbye to three enlisted sons.

"Roughly Speaking" seems to me about as terrifying as it seems useless. It is dealing directly with conventional attitudes about success, money and fame, and all of its people are devoted to these attitudes. Success to the Piersons means getting rich at no matter what, ambition is "two of us against the world," "being of a different cut" is coming up from the bottom to win a fortune, money-making is a complete, satisfying existence. The Piersons' blind striving for a fortune, which takes up three-quarters of the film, is seen through a bemused eye as wholesome, virtuous and fun. There is no suggestion of sterility, snobbism or hostility in this money-grubbing. Because they have such a zealous and happy time selling things to people, there is a strong suggestion of the aggressiveness involved and their indifference to everything but the dime they make out of the hamburger. This all seems useless to me because we have been shown it for years, and because once again it sees only these elements in money-making; and it seems to me that such lack of knowledge of what it means to pile up a fortune in terms of personal greed and social evil and the kind of life resulting from it is an anachronism of a particularly frightening kind.

The relationship of Mrs. Pierson to her husband and children is generalized and insipidly vague, though her first marriage is seen a little more sharply and objectively. The banker, who is made convincingly dry and drab by Donald Woods, is a quiet but purposeful conservative with a couple of nice speeches that indicate his character well, and he is the only person in the picture who is allowed to suffer nearly enough from Mrs. Pierson's personality. The best parts of the movie, though, have to do with Jack Carson's ability to make the talent for sophisticated humor and easy sociability of the second husband rich and effective. If some of the less vaudevillian aspects of his marriage had been written into the script, Mr. Carson would probably have created a masterpiece of this particular amiable, insecure rich man's son. I am not a fan of Rosalind Russell, who plays Mrs. Pierson.

The good things that turn up in the picture are inevitably cut to ribbons and compromised by Director Michael Curtiz and his jack-rabbit style. This style, which aims at killing dullness, involves jumping as fast as possible from one aspect of an event to another, getting the maximum amount of musical comedy and action. A typical example of the way it works is the meeting between Miss Russell and Mr. Carson at a Yale dance, which seems to me quite exciting until it is hurried into a slapstick dive into a fountain. That in turn is hurried into a kitchen conversation, which is then marred by a too quick proposal and the corny, predictable entrance of Miss Russell's four children by her first marriage. The purpose of Mr. Curtiz's style—to get in and around events and keep you awake—is good enough, and he does a lot of convincing things in directing his actors. But as far as I can see, he is totally incapable of shooting a scene without making it seem staged, falsely corny and less interesting than it should be.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

"Our nation is safer in the hands of a practical-minded, realistic, conscientious non-religionist than it is in the hands of an idealistic, ethereal-minded religionist who has learned something of the teachings of Jesus." – *The Rev. Dr. William Ward Ayer, discussing Henry A. Wallace, in a sermon in the Calvary Baptist Church, quoted in the* New York Herald Tribune.

"I want an apartment building with 2,000 to 2,500 rooms to house the Senate, the House and their employees. There will be a tunnel from [it] to the Capitol. Then let it snow, sleet or rain. . . . If the government," says Bilbo, "is willing to put up many houses for the worthless slum dwellers, it ought to be willing to loan money to take care of Congress." – *Senator Theodore Bilbo (Miss.), as quoted in the* Boston Herald.

After watching 15 boys and girls between the ages of 16 and 19 appear before Judge Jonah Goldstein on felony charges ranging from grand larceny to rape, Mrs. Roosevelt departed alone by subway to attend a luncheon of the Planned Parenthood Federation. – *From a story in the* Louisville Courier-Journal.

What's in a Name?

A group of Gresham citizens will not be allowed to incorporate under the name of Oregon Anti-Japanese, Inc., Attorney General George Neuner said today, because the name does not accurately describe the group's purpose. – *AP dispatch to the* Oregon Journal.

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That All-Out Effort

Plenty of grumbling goes on among Republican congressmen over the leadership of Representative Joe Martin. [The] minority leader advises "give Roosevelt enough rope and he'll hang himself." Young, more belligerent men in the House think stronger methods should be tried. – *From the* New York World-Telegram.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

FDR and the Negro

SIR: A significant fact about Mr. Roosevelt's fourth victory in a row is that in every election he could have given the electoral votes of the eleven states of the Solid South to his opponent and still have won in the Electoral College. This means there is absolutely no reason for any appeasement by President Roosevelt of the Southern "white-supremacy" bloc so far as concerns legislation desired by Negro voters who have stuck to him faithfully all through four elections. He has already declared himself in favor of the bill for a Permanent FEPC. He can and should come out for the federal anti-lynching bill and the bill abolishing the poll tax as a requirement for the right to vote in federal elections. He should enforce more vigorously his order abolishing segregation in the services provided for the men in the army camps and begin the abolition of segregation in the armed forces themselves. All this he owes alike to justice and to his supporters among the Negro voters.

CONSUELO C. YOUNG,
Publicity and Promotion Director,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
New York City

The Advantage of Part-Time Workers

SIR: In spite of daily discussion of the present labor shortage, one method of finding more women workers has not been used so widely as it should be—the part-time job.

The woman who works all day and runs a household as well carries a double responsibility and sooner or later she will have to slight one of them. The half-day job gives her a chance to do the housekeeping, supervise the care of the children and carry on all the other activities that go with home-making.

That the part-time job is not an impractical, up-in-the-clouds theory was proved before the war by a small experimental organization founded in 1922, the Bureau of Part-Time Work in New York City. With a branch office run for ten years in Philadelphia, it has filled more than 36,000 such positions, and shown its value to both employer and employee.

Early in the war England introduced the part-time job in her war industry and found it feasible to divide the work into four-hour shifts and have two workers supplement each other on one machine. In April, 1943, she had 600,000 women doing such work, and of these 460,000 were married. The number has since risen to 900,000 in war industries and 350,000 in civil defense. The chief task there, as in America, was the same: to convince employers of the practicability of part-time work. In the beginning it means more bookkeeping and more training. The English found, however, that if part-time workers were taken on in sufficient numbers, the extra clerical work was not serious. And many who were reluctant in the beginning came around to it when they discovered that there was less absenteeism, and that two women working part-time could often do a better job than one woman working full-time.

Part-time work in war industry has not been tried so extensively over here, but has been relied on chiefly in areas of critical manpower shortage. The split day, as it is called, is run on a four-hour shift; the split week is one of three or four days. West Coast employers, who have used the largest number of such workers, say they are very well satisfied with them, so much so that they installed a spare-time shift for school boys after school hours. Such jobs, however, are still not used so much as they might be. Discussion has concerned itself more with substitutes for the homemaker—shopping services, full-time day nurseries, cures for juvenile delinquency. But the presence of the housewife in the home for part of the day is better than a substitute, and for that the part-time job seems to be a workable solution.

New York City ELEANOR T. ADLER

From The New Republic Mail Bag

A member of the Vermont state legislature sends us a copy of a proposed bill, H. 73, "to prohibit coercion in securing membership in an association, organization or union" in Vermont. Obviously anti-labor in its intent, the bill would impose a fine of $5,000 or not less than one year's imprisonment for violation.

C. Herbert Laub, of the University of Tampa faculty, Tampa, Florida, defines the two horns of the dilemma facing postwar international organization as "perfectionism" and "unilateral privilege." He says we must reconcile ourselves to a compromise between these two positions, a tempering of the extreme idealism represented by the Atlantic Charter with realism.

"Old and original material, stories and anecdotes" about Eugene V. Debs are requested by Samuel M. Castleton, 25 Huntington Avenue, Boston 16, Massachusetts, for use in a biography of the labor leader. Letters and documents will be handled carefully and returned to their owners.

Farm Reports, Inc., sends us a copy of a pamphlet entitled "The Arithmetic of Farm Prosperity," reprinted from the January 10 issue of *Spade*. Aimed at a better understanding of labor by farmers, the pamphlet discusses the stake farmers have in full employment and better wages for industry. Copies, at 10 cents each, may be obtained from *Spade*, 215 Kellogg Building, Washington 4, D. C.

Walter Rae, author of the article "The Conscientious Objector" in the *New Republic* of January 8, replies to a letter from Bernard Lippman, mentioned in the Mailbag for February 5. The CO is fighting for more than what Mr. Lippman calls the acknowledgment of his "moral superiority." Rather, says Mr. Rae, "The sincere pacifist is fighting for recognition of . . . world unity through the devices of non-violence. . . . If his mere attempt is arrogance, then all mankind's aspirations for a peaceful world may as well go down the drain in the backwash of cynicism."

The Bureau for Intercultural Education writes to us about the success of Hortense Powdermaker's book, *Probing Our Prejudices* (published last fall by Harpers). The first edition, of 12,000 copies, was sold out less than four months after publication, which indicates an eagerness on the part of educators to use material of this sort. *Probing Our Prejudices*, which was sponsored by the Bureau, is the first supplementary textbook for high-school students in intercultural education.

Suggestions of poems to be included in a memorial anthology of the late Eunice Tietjens are requested by Shan Sinclair and George Raffalovich, 533 Toulouse Street, Apartment 3, New Orleans 16, Louisiana.

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Books in Review

Pressure Politics

THESE BOOKS[1] treat of the coming struggle for power. The authors are well aware of the explosive potentialities of the war's aftermath and they sincerely want to lessen the impact. Mr. Chase and Professor Clark are frankly concerned about the public welfare; Mr. Ruml, unfortunately, supports a special interest. As a protagonist of the modern enlightened businessman's outlook he painfully tries to prove that private enterprise is fully capable of discharging its economic responsibility to society without kibitzing from government, labor or consumers. Mr. Ruml's reasonable yet shrewd argument is a useful appendix to the educational campaigns of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Committee for Economic Development, industry's "liberal" wing.

The CED habitually bedecks its economic and political platform with garlands of slogans. Professor Clark's book, a characteristic academic study sponsored by the CED's research committee, is introduced as an analysis of the problems of shifting from war controls to the "automatic market system in which supply and demand determine prices." The CED here insists on a return to a vague kind of "normalcy." So long as it pleads for a nonexistent free market, so long will its discussion of the future be cloaked in unreality. A "free-enterprise" frame of reference does not even let us ask the right questions. Demobilization economics and postwar politics are essentially matters of power and pressures; who shall exercise that power is *the* basic question. The CED, Mr. Ruml, Professor Clark and Mr. Chase understand that well: Clark and Chase, however, want power to be employed impartially for the public interest. Mr. Ruml, on the other hand, implies that business, by virtue of its long experience and infinite skill, is the best qualified group to use economic authority.

Professor Clark's volume carefully weighs alternative methods for releasing controls after the war. It projects various probable situations into the period immediately following the end of hostilities and into the long haul afterward, and it visualizes the numerous ways in which we can go astray. We can leave a brilliant heritage of chaos, the author says, if we permit the larger corporations to strengthen their monopoly hold by acquiring all the surplus materials and plants. We can go wrong by ignoring the reemployment demands of war workers and ex-servicemen, or by not preparing now for reconversion to peacetime operation. We shall have to provide work, he warns, for eight or nine million more people than were employed in 1940 and we shall need a national income 40 percent greater than we had then. That means planning and coöperating now.

There is no doubt that business spokesmen want to cooperate, yet one cannot dispel the impression that such coöperation is desired on purely corporate terms. They want tax concessions and fewer monkeyshines from labor unions. And if they should fail to bring a millennium of prosperity, all the excuses are now ready. Clark observes that retooling and reconversion will take time, and if unemployment occurs, industry should not be blamed. No one questions that, yet business abhors the idea of government stepping in to help.

The new vindication of the corporate way of life is best displayed in Mr. Ruml's subtle apology for the business world. The first part of the book is a quasi-philosophic disquisition on freedom and order in Western civilization. Business is seen as but one of a number of rule-making and power-dispensing agencies in our social structure. It is a rule-making body that ". . . provides people with purposeful activity . . . giving order, sequence and significance to the activities of the day . . . and a wide range of choice of the kind of life they want to lead. . . ." Yet Mr. Ruml acknowledges that business is controlled by a self-perpetuating oligarchy whose major function is to manipulate values and savings. Whereas Veblen, for example, exposed such manipulations as a means of creating artificially higher values, Ruml asserts that they enhance productive activity. He concedes that corporate organization should have a broader democratic base, yet his suggestion to have several directors act as trustees for other interests would hardly accomplish this aim. Mr. Ruml has written a transparent panegyric to management; it is a defense of what the latter now possesses and a blueprint of what it wants.

Mr. Ruml especially shows his hand when he pontificates on the union movement in America. He clearly dislikes it and drops a tear for the passing of the ". . . humaneness and kindliness of the feudal, paternal business regime. . . ." The worker was once happy with management but now he strangely finds himself led by leaders "said to be of his own choosing." The union shop violates "deep moral principles which have their roots in a general belief in government by consent." Ruml repeats all the hoary and by now discarded clichés about unions in a disturbingly persuasive voice. Why, he intones, should a worker pay an outsider for the right to work? Union leaders are incompetent, he adds, and besides America isn't ready for the union shop. These attitudes, and the loud demands for tax revision favorable to business, are surely indicative of the carefully concealed hopes of the business community. Its spokesman may very well be charged with a kind of deception that augurs ill for postwar America.

The writing of Stuart Chase exhibits a much broader perspective. His book is utterly devoid of equivocation; its arguments are founded on proved fact and comprise a powerful attack on all pressure groups and Me First lobbies. These boys, says Mr. Chase, forget that we really are our brothers' keepers. A high-energy civilization such as ours

[1] Demobilization of Wartime Economic Controls, by John M. Clark. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 219 pages. $1.75.
Tomorrow's Business, by Beardsley Ruml. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 238 pages. $2.50.
Democracy under Pressure: Special Interests v. the Public Welfare, by Stuart Chase. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund. 142 pages. $1.

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cannot afford economic savagery among business, labor and agriculture. Yet these groups demand direct subsidies for themselves "or a hand grenade for a competitor."

Mr. Chase has done some of the best writing of his career in this book. He does not believe that we can re-establish the shadowy economy of the free market. Society, he tells us, revolted against the strictures that an impersonal market would impose; the outcome has been monopoly in all phases of our economic life. He shows how mass markets and technology led to controls by large aggregations of capital. Monopolistic competition here is not some esoteric term quietly mumbled by a bearded professor, but a vivid summation of how the gears of our economy really mesh.

Add political organization to economic power, remarks Chase, and you get a Me First gang. The behavior of a Petrillo or the restrictive regulations of a plumber's union are not condoned by any means, yet Chase understands that labor lobbies grew as a simple matter of self-defense. "The labor lobby," he says, "serves people who often need that service very bitterly."

Mr. Chase suggests full publicity of lobbying activities, yardstick plants and sharp control of monopolies as corrective measures. But the chief hope, it is urged, lies in a get-together spirit that will eliminate the grab for parity and profits and egocentric demands of certain trade unions. We trust this hope is not too optimistic. BEN B. SELIGMAN

Theology and Democracy

The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness: A Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of Its Traditional Defense, by Reinhold Niebuhr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 190 pages. $2.

EVERYBODY KNOWS that life is shot through with frustrations. But this simple fact is the occasion for much philosophic difference. Looked at in one way, it requires not explanation but understanding, with the hope that the more we understand the better able we may be to convert frustrations themselves into new fulfilments. This approach may be regarded as a token of the scientific habit of mind. Looked at differently, the whole historic process is one of frustration, which we can never really understand but which can be explained by the idea of original sin. This we may regard as one sign of the theological habit of mind.

Now Dr. Niebuhr is in our time one of the ablest spokesmen among the theologians. And he brings to his chosen task rare gifts and wide-ranging interests. Face to face with social and political problems, his attitude is as undogmatic, as experimental, as that of the best social scientists. Yet he finds it difficult, if not impossible, to come at them full face. For he is always pulling round to look at the cosmic shadows falling across his shoulders. An experimental attitude might be enough for him if he believed that the experience of the natural world were enough. But he doesn't. So he finds his solution in a *deus ex machina*, making the human comedy less painful if also less credible.

His new book is subtitled "A vindication of democracy and a critique of its traditional defense." That means simply that Dr. Niebuhr is a sincere believer in the democratic way of life, but that he requires a theistic underpinning to support his belief in it. Certainly there are many among us who have the same need. One can recognize that fact, however, without going the whole way with Dr. Niebuhr in declaring that "the profundities of the Christian faith . . . are indispensable resources for the historic tasks which lie before us." There are also many among us, equally sincere believers in the democratic way of life, who feel no need whatever for the theistic premise, and to whom the idea of original sin would have to be translated into naturalistic terms to have any meaning. To this latter group Dr. Niebuhr's book can carry no conviction at all. Indeed, it must appear to them not so much a vindication of democracy as an attempt to vindicate traditional Christian theology in the light of contemporary problems.

The children of darkness of this analytic parable are those preoccupied with their own concerns and their own interests. Since theirs is a cynical conception of human nature and human relations, they often operate with a merciless shrewdness and sometimes with a devastating efficiency. Whatever their pretensions, they are not genuinely believers in democracy. They are frequently the ones, however, who best know the facts of life, and so can build and maintain power. The children of light, on the other hand, are those who reach beyond themselves, knowing that only in some community of mankind can man's greatest possibilities be realized. Among these are the ones who have been devoted to democracy.

Dr. Niebuhr, of course, is one in heart with the children of light. But he rightly takes them to task on two counts: first, that many of them have been too easy believers in never ending progress; second, that they have underestimated or ignored the self-interest drives at work in human

THE POSTWAR WORLD

If the most successful peace treaty only lasted thirty-three years, what can we expect in the postwar world? What are the factors and special considerations involved? Thirteen experts present their understanding of the problems, the results and the probable costs. Among them are Robert S. Lynd, Francis B. Sayre, Joseph L. Hromadka, T. A. Bisson, Vera Micheles Dean, John L. Childs, *et al.* $2.00

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beings. Primarily for these two reasons, the children of light have been stupid. Obviously, the job before them is to become intelligent. Thus far, many of us can agree with Dr. Niebuhr's position. And we shall find much wisdom in his pressing home the values in a desirable relation between the individual and his community; in his clear critique both of the bourgeois and the Marxist philosophies of property, and his insistence on the need for reconstructing our notions of it; and in his strong arguments on the necessity for building a world community.

Having gone this far with him inside the realm of experience, we find him trying to pin our ears back if we insist on remaining within it. For here the fact of frustration comes back to bedevil him. He sees a world community as man's final necessity and possibility. At the same time, because of life's limitations, this world community is also man's final impossibility, ever beyond his grasp. What, then, is the answer? For Dr. Niebuhr it is nestling back in the security of a Divine Power who, in ways wondrous and beyond our comprehension, can fulfill that which is beyond our power of fulfilment.

With all respect to Dr. Niebuhr's extraordinary abilities, and recognizing his right to his own overbeliefs, it is difficult to see how this conclusion really gets anybody any place. It seems to me to be not the final answer so much as the final dilemma of the theologians. As such, it is a problem with which many of the rest of us have simply nothing to do. What we can do is to disavow the tortuous paths of Dr. Niebuhr's theistic reasoning, while continuing to value him as one of the finest and most fearless liberal fighters of our day.

JEROME NATHANSON

BRIARCLIFF QUARTERLY

(Continuing the MARYLAND QUARTERLY, under which latter title the first three issues of the Magazine have appeared)

As an integral part of the creative writing program at Briarcliff, the Quarterly should appeal to students in other colleges. We hope it will enlist their interest as writers and that it will, in some cases at least, publish their finished work. The Quarterly invites and welcomes inquiries from both faculty and students of other colleges; ultimately it hopes outside courses in creating writing will adopt the Quarterly for classroom use. And, as long as our limited supply of the current issue lasts, we shall be glad to send a free sample copy to any faculty member requesting it on his college stationery. Also, on application, we shall be glad to quote our special classroom rate on five or more copies going to one address.

The Briarcliff Quarterly, which is edited and managed by Norman Macleod with the collaboration of students in the English division of the college, is an international review of literary and general intellectual interest. It is published by Briarcliff Junior College, Briarcliff Manor, New York.

The Briarcliff Quarterly publishes fiction, articles, literary criticism, poetry, and book notices by new as well as established American writers including both those residing in the United States and those serving in the armed forces overseas.

Contributors to the current issue: Ralston Crawford, Weldon Kees, Nicholas Moore, George Woodcock, Charles Edward Eaton, Ordway Tead, Will Gibson, S. S. Smith, Denys Val Baker, W. S. Graham, Leigh Parkford, Jose Garcia Villa, Joan Funk, Kenneth Patchen, Herbert Schaumann, William Zorach, etc.

Contributors to the following issue: Jessie Treichler, Fred Urquhart, Kenneth Rexroth, etc.

BRIARCLIFF QUARTERLY

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Briarcliff Manor New York

Ambiguities of Exile

No Road Back, by Walter Mehring. Translated from the German by S. A. de Witt; illustrations by George Grosz. English and German text. New York: Samuel Curl. 163 pages. $2.

Germany, A Winter's Tale, 1844, by Heinrich Heine. English version by Herman Salinger; Introduction by Hermann Kesten. New York: L. B. Fischer. 156 pages. $2.75.

THE EXPERIENCES of exiled Germans since 1933 have already produced a good deal of verse. And despite the difficulties of foreign-language publication, much of it has been published—in New York, Mexico City, London and Moscow. Refugee journals, such as *Das Wort*, *Freies Deutschland* and the *Austro-American Tribune*, have been the chief outlet. Some few writers—Hanns Sahl, Iwan Heilbut and Hanns Marchwitza are recent instances—have published whole books of untranslated poems in New York City. The Russian government has been backing Erich Weinert and Johannes R. Becher. But from all the refugee poetry that has come to my attention four small volumes stand out: Max Herrmann's *Um Uns Die Fremde* (Zurich, 1936), Bertolt Brecht's *Svendborger Gedichte* (London, 1939), Berthold Viertel's *Fürchte Dich Nicht!* (New York, 1941) and Walter Mehring's *Kein Weg Zurück—No Road Back* (New York, 1944). Of these the first remains unknown despite the introduction by Thomas Mann; the second is ignored even by those who write essays on Brecht's poetry; the third is known only to an inner circle despite Christopher Isherwood's fine discussion of it in *Partisan Review*; only the fourth, which came out last fall, has attracted much attention. The first printing was sold out in a few weeks. It was a minor sensation.

On the face of it, Mehring's relative fame is surprising, and some will put it down to good promoting or other external factors. The long poem which is the *pièce de résistance* of his book is an unsuccessful attempt to express the major theme of our time: the plight of man in Hitler's world. It is too big a job for Mehring. His poem has moments. Indeed it comes to us in spurts and gushes. It seems that Mehring could not correlate the diverse elements, could not make them interact, could not integrate his work. Many people will be disappointed by this little book which has been so highly praised. The English version is appallingly bad; Mr. George Grosz's two illustrations are feeble; Mr. Mehring, it might be said, is more of an Edna Millay than a Louis Aragon; it might be urged that he is only a poetic journalist. And yet the truth is not so simple.

When I came to *No Road Back* the only other book of Mehring's known to me was *Gedichte, Lieder und Chansons*, a highly colored performance belonging to the same world as Brecht's *Hauspostille*. It was the book of a cabaret poet, a species that flourished in pre-Hitler Germany, a species that gave a dignity to "poetic journalism" which in English it does not have. The question that bothered me was: what would happen to this clever, self-assured yet hyper-sensitive writer in the hell of the thirties and forties? The poet whose portrait we see on the jacket of *No Road Back* (which being *early* George Grosz is interesting) is a

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slim, comical, over-civilized and (in the Nazi sense) decadent imp of a man, an esthete. Would not the concentration camp be to him what Reading Gaol was to Wilde, the dissolution of his talent, the conversion of a wit into a sentimentalist? There are people of course who think of concentration camps as places where heroic sufferers compose anti-fascist songs. But Mehring is no hero. His spluttering, uncontrolled, undirected hatred is quite unheroic and quite unhelpful. Nevertheless in this hatred lay the answer to my queries. Through this hatred Mehring is the more representative of the refugees, of the exiled intellectuals and of human nature; it is therefore a possible stuff for poetry. Moreover, through this hatred Mehring adapts himself to the times, and avoids the fate of Toller and Zweig. The hatred expressed in his long poem, much more than the love also professed there, seems to keep Mehring alive and to drive him (incidentally) toward a new style. I say *toward*; the trouble with *Brief aus der Mitternacht* is that its style is not fully realized. But it contains magnificent vituperation, fine touches of fantasy and convincingly grotesque wit. If Mr. Mehring can learn to relate these things, if he makes his old Byronic thinking mesh with his more recent experience of the inferno, he will be an important poet.

Heine's *Germany, A Winter's Tale, 1844* is offered to us as another anti-Nazi work, and in so far as it attacks Prussianism and predicts a horrible future for Germany it is so. The up-to-date colloquialism of Mr. Salinger's translation helps it to seem more of 1944 than of 1844. The preface by Hermann Kesten, a friend of Walter Mehring's, also emphasizes topicality by dealing chiefly with the experience of German refugees in our time. Heine's own preface is tactfully and rather too tactically placed at the end of the volume, since in it Heine says:

> I myself am neither so stupid nor so bad that I could wish that my Germans and the French, the two chosen people of humanity, should break their necks for the benefit of England and Russia. . . .

and again:

> . . . All of Europe, the whole world, will become German! Of this mission and this universal domination of Germany I often dream when walking under oak trees. That is my patriotism.

Somebody will now accuse me, doubtless, of making out Heine a proto-Nazi. No. The point is that one cannot assume, with his present editors, that whenever Heine says something we like, he is ahead of his time, and whenever he says something we don't like, historical explanations are called for. When Heine attacks England and Russia, we are to remember that the situation in 1844 was different; when he attacks Germans we are to imagine it was not different. Such attitudes are puerile. Searching the past for anti-Nazis is as tiresome as searching it for proto-Nazis.

In fact it is a symptom of the same mode of thinking, and it is particularly unenlightening in the study of Heine. Anti-Semites like Treitschke and Bartels established the legend that Heine was un-German; if we defend Heine as an anti-Nazi, as a champion of the Jews and the Latins against the Teutons, we are accepting the racist categories. Of course Mr. Kesten can admit that Heine was a patriot. But there is more to it than that. Heine is thoroughly of his own time, and not at all of ours. He was no lily-white democrat but for a long time a hero-worshiper of Napoleon. It is indeed hard to say exactly what Heine did stand for, since he was preëminently what book-reviewers call "confused and pretentious," that is, he had more ideas than one, he sometimes changed his mind, and he always spoke out. He is complex and not altogether consistent. What we need is not another presentation of Heine as a Jew (did he not carry this cross lightly?) or as a refugee (his exile was idyllic compared to that of Kesten and Mehring) but a study of Heine as a European of the nineteenth century.

When we take up Heine coolly as a great poet and critic, as we take up Goethe or Matthew Arnold, we shall also, it is to be hoped, translate him better. Unlike most translators of Heine, Mr. Salinger is lively and knowing. But he jazzes Heine up with "funny" rhymes for which there is no warrant in the original, and so lowers Heine to the level of Ogden Nash:

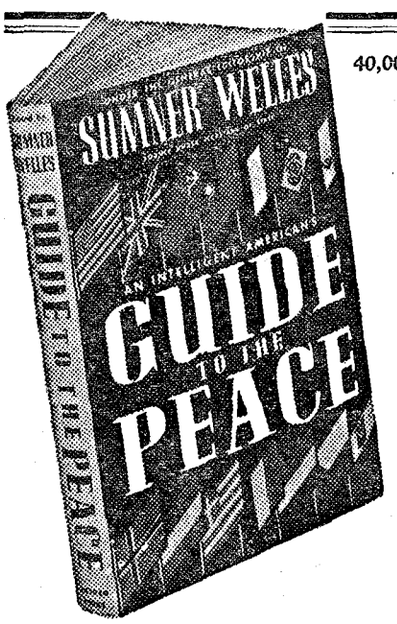
> Sarras, that faithful dog, is dead:
> That paragon of poodles!
> Campe would rather have sacrificed
> Ten authors, of which he has oodles.

What Heine wrote was:

> *Sarras, der treue Pudel, ist tot.*
> *Ein grosser Verlust! Ich wette*
> *Dass Campe lieber ein ganzes Schock*
> *Schriftsteller verloren haette.*

And this too goes to show that the nineteenth-century Heine is preferable to twentieth-century *ersatz*.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY



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Dr. Beebe's Stable

The Book of Naturalists, edited by William Beebe. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 499 pages. $3.50.

DR. WILLIAM BEEBE, who is himself a highly successful popular writer on natural history, conceived the happy thought of an anthology of writing in this field. The first part of the book gives selections that are primarily of historic interest, coming down from Aristotle and Pliny to van Leeuwenhoek and Linnaeus. The second part, six-sevenths of the total book, consists of quotations from the great naturalists of the last century, plus a few contemporaries whose names will be unfamiliar to all except the specialists in their fields. There are some obvious omissions, including William Beebe himself, represented here only by his notes on the work of other men; one never knows of course with what problems of copyright and permission an anthologist has contended. If, like this reviewer, you are a pushover for any sort of scientific writing not hopelessly technical, you will enjoy many if not all of these selections. Darwin is represented with some pages from *The Voyage of the Beagle* and with his first statement of *Origin of Species*. Wallace, Huxley and Fabre appear with characteristic passages. Among the men of this or the last generation are Donald Culross Peattie, Julian Huxley, Gustav Eckstein, Henry Fairfield Osborn, Carl Akeley, Vilhjalmur Stefansson and J. Arthur Thomson. I have heard complaints that this should have been called *The Book of Zoölogists*, since it is heavily weighted in that direction; but most readers with a bent for scientific writing will be glad to have it on its own terms. B. B.

A Reader's List

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIAN ECONOMICS, by J. F. Normano (John Day, $2). Our thinking in economics is so forcefully dominated by the British classical tradition that the ideas native to other countries are virtually unknown. Dr. Normano, who has been doing noteworthy research in the economic thought of foreign nations, deserves special commendation for his efforts to bring to our attention alien theoretical developments. The author is not so much concerned here with specific theories as with a broad view of changing trends and ideas. Tracing the effect of British, French and German political economy on Russian thinking, Dr. Normano constantly underlines the persistent Slavic content of Russian doctrine. Although German philosophy and economic theory exerted a powerful influence, it was the compelling urge to see things in an indigenous Russian way that always dominated. And Bolshevism, Dr. Norman concludes, was but a natural culmination of this development. Both Old and New Russia feared the West and hated the bourgeoisie. They both adopted messianic roles and projected grandiose schemes for a better civilization. The community was at all times superior to the individual and there was no hesitancy in using social coercion. These striking parallels, says the author, prove that "there are not Old and New Russia: it is always Russia."

VERDICT ON INDIA, by Beverley Nichols (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50). This is not so much a verdict as a case of petty larceny. It is a jumble of edited facts and bathos designed to make you believe that Britain has remained in India all these decades in order to protect the 80 million untouchables and the Moslem minority from the "deadening influence" of Gandhi and the Hindus. After writing off Gandhi, Nehru and other Congress leaders as fascists, Nichols introduces a plan entitled "Divide and Quit," through which Britain would help carve India into two separate empires, one for Hindus and one for Moslems, and then make a well timed exit, leaving India to the ensuing groans. Unfortunately, Englishman Nichols' blue blood runs thick where the subject matter is knottiest, and he is not very convincing. The "essence" of this repulsive little book appeared in the *Reader's Digest* for February.

Contributors

ALVIN H. HANSEN, Littauer Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University and adviser to the Federal Reserve Board, is the author of *Full Recovery or Stagnation, Fiscal Policy and Business Cycles*, and co-author, with Harvey S. Perloff, of *State and Local Finance in the National Economy*, published last year by W. W. Norton.

AYERS BRINSER is a small farmer in Massachusetts. In collaboration with Ward Shepard, he has written a textbook on *Our Use of the Land*, published by Harper and Brothers. He has also written, for the National Resources Planning Board, a plan for postwar rural New England.

MAURICE EDELMAN is a war correspondent for the English magazine, *Picture Post*, and a contributor to the *New Statesman and Nation*.

IDA FOX is legislative representative of the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee, in Washington. She was born and educated in New York City, is a former government employee, and has worked with the Minority Workshop in Washington.

BEN B. SELIGMAN is a commodity analyst for the OPA and contributes regularly to the *New Republic*.

JEROME NATHANSON is a Leader in the New York Society for Ethical Culture and chairman of the Conference on the Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith. He is the author of *Forerunners of Freedom*, published in 1941 by the American Council on Public Affairs.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY, author of *A Century of Hero Worship*, published last year by J. B. Lippincott, was formerly a member of the faculty of Black Mountain College.

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